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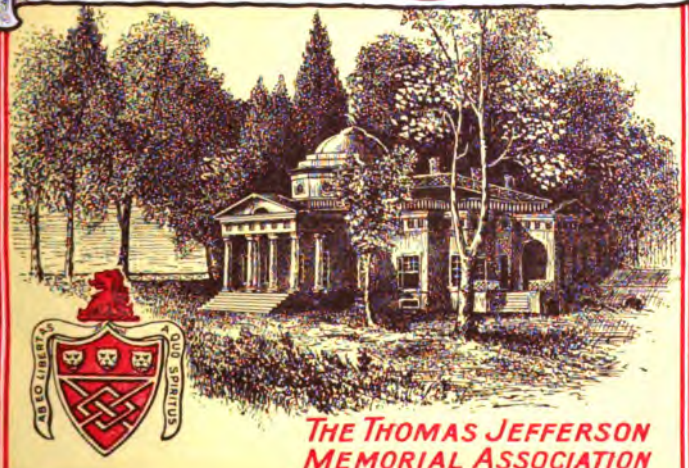

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Jefferson at Fifty-eight

Photogravure from a Painting by Gilbert Stuart, now in the possession of Hon. T. Jefferson Coolidge

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THOMAS JEFFERSON

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CONTAINING HIS

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INCLUDING

ALL OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, DEPOSITED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND PUBLISHED IN 1853 BY ORDER OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

AND

A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYTICAL INDEX

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EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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MANAGING EDITOR

VOL. IV.

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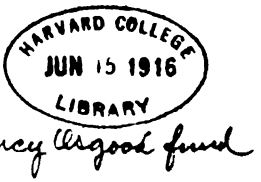

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JEFFERSON AS A PROMOTER OF GENERAL EDUCATION.

"Institutions," it has been said, "are the lengthening shadows of men." In a large sense this is true. Institutions, systems and governments find their first general expression in the words of a few men who work and toil for humanity. It is well, therefore, that at times we go back to the original declaration,—the springs from which have flowed the rivers that refresh and benefit mankind. The subject may not be a new one, yet the particular manifestation, or phase of it, in a community or nation, will be found to have originated in the mind and from the efforts and writings of a man.

Whatever else may be said or thought of Thomas Jefferson, all agree that he was unique and strong in his personality, and, in history, he stands among the few "upon the mountain heights." It is, I think, agreed that he belonged to that small number, who in the great highway of life are far in advance of their age; who see some things clearly which are obscure to others that stand around them. It is more than far-sightedness; it is rather a spiritual possession; a deep intuition that takes hold of right by instinct and sees States and sys-

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tems as the artist sees the picture or the form before the brush has touched the canvas, or the marble has felt the chisel. The age rejects the vision because the masses have not the knowledge or faith to see it, but the day dawns at last—too late for the seer to participate in the action—when the people reach the point of view and then the world says, "He saw and expressed it a century or twenty centuries ago." This power is not the result of education; it is instinct in some great souls. Education aids in the expression of the thought; it builds around it a fortification of defense; but the time comes when the simple statement of the truth is all that is needed. It is accepted, not because it can be defended, but because the enlightened minds of earth see that it is right. I have made these introductory statements because what Jefferson said in reference to education are in the main common and accepted theories to-day.

It might well be expected that in speaking upon this topic much should be said about the efforts of Thomas Jefferson to secure legislation in his State in the interest of education. The education bill which he prepared and labored so hard and long to have adopted by the Virginia Legislature, is worthy of study and comment. Especially would it be pleasant and appropriate to speak of his splendid work in establishing and building that great institution of learning, the University of Virginia,—an institution which in its constitution, its form of organization,

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its curriculum, and its architecture, bears the imprint of his noble mind. One thinks of this university with profound admiration. Its service has been long and excellent; but when we think of the University of Virginia, great as its service has been in the usual work of the university, our minds instinctively recall its "honor system," which differentiates it from other great universities. To teach men honor, and to require them to organize for the defence and maintenance of honor in student life and conduct, is to grow men who will stand for the State, the observance of law, not as a matter of expediency or policy, but as the high and controlling duty of the citizen. Nothing in the development of this university could better exemplify the thought and character of its founder.

But it is not these works of Thomas Jefferson which come involuntarily to the mind when he is spoken of as a promoter of education that I wish to emphasize. Rather let me recall a few fundamental and unique principles which he believed in and advocated.

He believed profoundly in the education of all the children in the State, of rich and poor alike, in the fundamental or elementary courses of instruction at public expense. In his famous education bill the first provision was for elementary schools, free to the children of every citizen, where competent instruction was to be given in "reading, writing, common arithmetic, and general geography."

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We need not quarrel with the curriculum; that is a detail. The great thought underlying it and of vital interest, is expressed in two letters upon the subject. Writing to Mr. C. C. Blatchley, he said: "I look to the diffusion of light and education as the source most to be relied on for ameliorating the condition, promoting the virtue and advancing the happiness of man." And again, writing to James Madison, he said: "Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty."

The great general principle, the mighty underlying, foundation truth, is that in the general elementary education of *all the people* there will be found the way, and the only way, to virtue, happiness, security, and liberty. There are no conditions or provisos in this social law. Religion, race, conditions—material, social and political—do not lessen its importance, or vary its operation, or impose any conditions upon it. Will you have a happy, virtuous people, a free, a secure State? then educate *all the people* in the fundamental subjects of knowledge; instruct every child to read, that he may know what is going on in the world; instruct him in those other necessary branches of learning that he may keep his part in the world's work going right. In the free public schools are the tap-roots of true citizenship.

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Jefferson provided in his education bill for higher education—for colleges and university. Specialization was limited in his day as compared with our present conditions. Then higher education was for those who were to enter the learned professions and for the leisure classes. To-day we offer systematic and scientific education to all who are preparing for almost every department of life. But the general thought he expressed is still true and applicable. He said: "I do most anxiously wish to see the highest degrees of education given to the highest degrees of genius."

If perfection of operation is so desirable and so much sought after in mechanics, what efforts are too great, what sacrifices too rich in effort or money, to develop perfection in the minds and hands of the men who are, and are always to be, the factors in the development, progress, civilization, and service of mankind! Colleges, universities, professional and technical schools are necessary for those who are to do the intellectual labor, the scientific and skilled work in the world's great laboratories. Here in this upper sphere of education there are two thoughts of Jefferson that we may well consider. The first is *method*—and here we find the approved method exemplified in Jefferson's way of doing things. Men of his type are not satisfied to take things at second hand which may be acquired from original sources. He urged the study of languages—of which he possessed

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a knowledge of four—that the thoughts of men worth the reading and study might be obtained in the very words in which the thoughts were expressed; deeming the words selected by the author important to a true understanding of the idea. He says: "To all this I add, that to read the Latin and Greek authors in their original is a sublime luxury; and I deem luxury in science at least as justifiable as in architecture, painting, gardening, or the other arts."

Writing to a friend in France, in later life, upon the subject of fitting one's self for public life and especially for the duties of a legislator, he said, in substance: Go among the people, lounge upon their beds that you may see how hard they are; eat their food that you may be able, if possible, to put some meat in their kettle of vegetables.

In higher education, then, we should use, to the greatest degree possible, the method of original research. Let the student in engineering learn and establish himself in the laboratories and workshops where "things are done." Let the student of chemistry bend over fierce fires and the refining pot. Let the student of history learn some things from the men who are making history. Let the student of jurisprudence take his knowledge from jurists and judicial opinions. And let the student of the classics find in tombs and buried cities a knowledge of the ancients, and read his poetry and prose in the languages in which they were written.

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The second thought in this higher realm is suggested in that proviso which Jefferson added to the second section of his bill. Colleges were to be within a day's ride of every inhabitant, and a university in the State. Of course, these institutions were open to all who could provide for themselves and pay the tuition. But this strange man was always looking out for picked men to serve the State; not necessarily in public life, but in all those higher walks that make the higher civilization. And he believed that there was material for high and noble service among the poor. He would, therefore, have free scholarships in these colleges for the poor man's son. But how was the selection to be made? What tests were to be applied in admitting to these free courses? The provision reads: "For the full education at the public expense of select subjects from among the poor *who shall have exhibited at the elementary schools the most pronounced indication of aptness of judgment and correct disposition.*" Here is a test, a standard for admission entirely overlooked in the present day. States and benevolent organizations of all kinds are establishing institutions for higher learning, and the only tests required are that the candidate for such privileges shall have a certain per centum of the knowledge taught in the secondary schools. "Aptness of judgment and correct disposition" are not considered in determining whether the riches of these educational advantages shall be showered

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without cost upon men. The result is, that in many cases young men are instructed in higher knowledge for a profession, or a calling, for which they have no natural fitness or qualifications; the real elements of success are not in them. We cannot prevent a man of wealth sending his son to an institution to spend years in preparation for a profession in which he can never succeed because nature made him for something else; but in giving free education, whether by the State or by voluntary organizations, this suggestion of Jefferson partakes of that wisdom which lives in worthy men who dare to say and dare to do the right things in all matters, even in benevolent and political action. The higher education bestowed upon those who have not the *aptness of judgment* and the *correct disposition* for its exercise and use, is more than a waste of time and effort. It unfits such men for the service they might render in humbler walks of life, makes them restless and unhappy, creates an unstable class in society, and, therefore, renders the State less secure,—the very opposite results which should follow a proper control of educational efforts.

The last thought is Jefferson's reason for education—"the preservation of liberty." How these men loved liberty! They knew its value, for they paid the price of it. I like this thought which he expressed: "A government wherein the will of every one has a just influence . . . enjoys a precious degree of liberty." But the "will" of the individual

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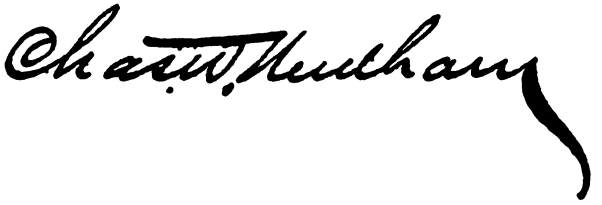
is of little value unless there be a fair degree of intelligence among all the people, and liberty in its highest form can not be made prevalent for good without a general appreciation of its value. Spencer says truly: "The ability of a nation to hold its own against other nations depends on the skilled activity of its units. We see that on such knowledge may turn the nation's fate."

And so Jefferson keeps constantly before us the thought, that, in the elementary education of all the people, and in the higher education of those who show indications of "aptness of judgment and correct disposition," is to be found happiness for the people, security and strength for the State, and the preservation of liberty.



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William Pitt, Earl of Chatham

(1708–1778)

From the Original Painting by W. Hare

Lord Chatham, like his great contemporary, Edmund Burke, foresaw the separation of the American Colonies from the mother country, if the arbitrary measures adopted by England should be continued, and, therefore, advocated, especially in 1766, a conciliatory policy and the repeal of the Stamp Act. In 1774, he again recommended, in the House of Lords, the abandonment of the coercive measures employed against America; but his warning was rejected, and as the consequence, in 1776, the Colonies declared their independence. He still, however, labored in this cause, and used all his efforts to induce the British Government to effect a reconciliation with the American States. As he was speaking with his accustomed energy on this subject in the House of Lords on April 7, 1778, he fell down in a convulsive fit. A fine picture of the "Death of Chatham," painted by Copley, was presented to the National Gallery in 1828.

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Edmund Burke

(1730–1797)

From the Original Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

Edmund Burke entered Parliament in 1766; spoke on American taxation in 1774, and was the unfailing champion of the American Colonies from first to last. He spoke from the outset with authority, for before he was thirty he had written a book on the history of the Colonies, the preparation of which required accurate knowledge of the prevailing conditions there and of the future possibilities of the nation which was then struggling for existence. From 1771-1774 he acted as agent of the New York Colony in England, and the consequence of the knowledge thus acquired was that when he made his first speech on American Taxation, the Earl of Chatham, who had also made a study of America, declared that Burke had left him little or nothing to say. One of Burke's best addresses was on "Conciliation with America," which was delivered March 22, 1775. In this famous speech he advocated the policy of justice and conciliation which, had it been adopted, would have averted the War of Independence and probably have retained the Colonies in amity with the mother country.

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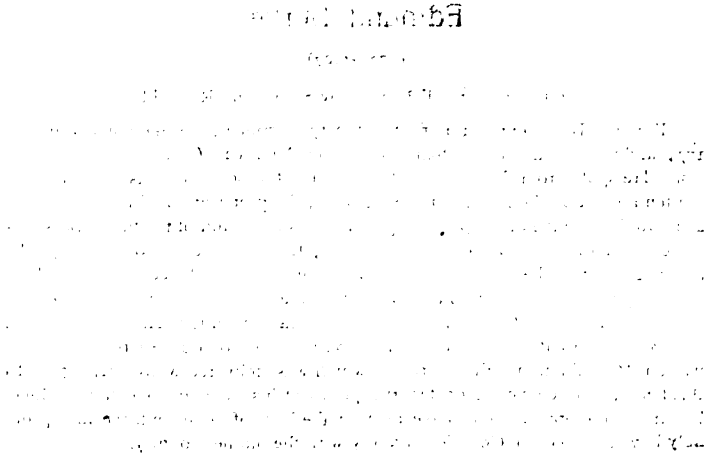

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CORRESPONDENCE.

PART I.—BEFORE HIS MISSION TO EUROPE, 1762–1784.

" II.—WHILE IN EUROPE, 1784–1789.

" III.—AFTER HIS RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES TO HIS DEATH, 1789–1826.

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JEFFERSON'S CORRESPONDENCE.

THIS division of the work includes all the Correspondence, official and private, of Thomas Jefferson, from 1762 to his death in 1826, which possesses general interest or permanent public value. For the purpose of easy reference, it has been classified as follows:

PART I.—LETTERS WRITTEN BEFORE HIS MISSION TO EUROPE.—The letters included in this division, consist principally of the private correspondence of Jefferson's youth, and his official letters while Governor of Virginia. The former are interesting mainly as illustrating his character, his views, and his purposes in life. The latter, relating to the period of the invasion of Virginia, and the military operations in the South, possess no inconsiderable historical value. The second half of this volume (Vol. IV, pages 222 to 458) presents interesting letters, covering this period, which were not included in the Congressional edition of 1853.

PART II.—LETTERS WRITTEN WHILE IN EUROPE.—The letters included in this division, relate principally to the objects of his mission to Europe—his efforts to extend the commercial relations of this country with the European nations—the history of particular treaties of commerce—piratical depredations upon our commerce by the Barbary States—our Foreign Debt—our relations generally with Europe—the rise and progress of the French Revolution through its early stages—his views of the Confederation and the new Constitution—the political and social condition of Europe, etc., all interspersed with the reflections of Jefferson upon every variety of topic, literary, scientific, social, and political.

PART III.—LETTERS WRITTEN AFTER HIS RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES TO THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.—To the great majority of readers, this will be found to be much the most interesting division of the work, ranging, as it does, over the whole field of Literature, Philosophy, Science, Religion, Morals, History, and Politics, and embodying the mature views of Jefferson upon nearly all the great Constitutional questions which have arisen under our Government, and many of the most important problems which have agitated the world.

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JEFFERSON'S WORKS.

LETTERS WRITTEN BEFORE HIS MISSION TO EUROPE.

1762–1784.

TO JOHN PAGE.

FAIRFIELD, December 25, 1762.

DEAR PAGE,—This very day, to others the day of greatest mirth and jollity, sees me overwhelmed with more and greater misfortunes than have befallen a descendant of Adam for these thousand years past, I am sure; and perhaps, after excepting Job, since the creation of the world. I think his misfortunes were somewhat greater than mine; for, although we may be pretty nearly on a level in other respects, yet, I thank my God, I have the advantage of brother Job in this, that Satan has not as yet put forth his hand to load me with bodily afflictions. You must know, dear Page, that I am now in a house surrounded with enemies, who take counsel together against my soul; and when I lay me down to rest, they say among themselves, come let us destroy him. I am sure if there is such a thing as a Devil in this world, he must have been here last night, and have had some hand in contriving what happened to me. Do you think

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the cursed rats (at his instigation, I suppose) did not eat up my pocket-book, which was in my pocket, within a foot of my head? And not contented with plenty for the present, they carried away my jemmy-worked silk garters, and half a dozen new minuets I had just got, to serve, I suppose, as provision for the winter. But of this I should not have accused the Devil, (because, you know rats will be rats, and hunger, without the addition of his instigations, might have urged them to do this,) if something worse, and from a different quarter, had not happened. You know it rained last night, or if you do not know it, I am sure I do. When I went to bed, I laid my watch in the usual place, and going to take her up after I arose this morning, I found her in the same place, it's true, but *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* all afloat in water, let in at a leak in the roof of the house, and as silent and still as the rats that had eat my pocket-book. Now, you know, if chance had had anything to do in this matter, there were a thousand other spots where it might have chanced to leak as well as at this one, which was perpendicularly over my watch. But I'll tell you, it's my opinion that the Devil came and bored the hole over it on purpose. Well, as I was saying, my poor watch had lost her speech. I should not have cared much for this, but something worse attended it; the subtle particles of the water with which the case was filled, had, by their penetration, so overcome the cohesion of the particles of the paper, of which my dear picture and watch-paper were com-

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posed, that, in attempting to take them out to dry them, good God! *Mens horret referre!* My cursed fingers gave them such a rent, as I fear I never shall get over. This, cried I, was the last stroke Satan had in reserve for me; he knew I cared not for anything else he could do to me, and was determined to try his last most fatal expedient. "*Multis fortunæ vulneribus percussus, huic uni me imparem sensi, et penitus succubui!*" I would have cried bitterly, but I thought it beneath the dignity of a man, and a man too, who had read *των οντων, τα μεν εφ'ήμιν, τα δ' εκ εφ'ήμιν.* However, whatever misfortunes may attend the picture or lover, my hearty prayers shall be, that all the health and happiness which Heaven can send may be the portion of the original, and that so much goodness may ever meet with what may be most agreeable in this world, as I am sure it must be in the next. And now, although the picture be defaced, there is so lively an image of her imprinted in my mind, that I shall think of her too often, I fear, for my peace of mind; and too often, I am sure, to get through old Coke this winter; for God knows I have not seen him since I packed him up in my trunk in Williamsburg. Well, Page, I do wish the Devil had old Coke, for I am sure I never was so tired of an old dull scoundrel in my life. What! are there so few inquietudes tacked to this momentary life of ours, that we must need be loading ourselves with a thousand more? Or, as brother Job says, (who, by-the-bye, I think began to whine a little under his afflic-

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tions,) "Are not my days few? Cease then, that I may take comfort a little before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness, and the shadow of death." But the old fellows say we must read to gain knowledge, and gain knowledge to make us happy and admired. *Mere jargon!* Is there any such thing as happiness in this world? No. And as for admiration, I am sure the man who powders most, perfumes most, embroiders most, and talks most nonsense, is most admired. Though to be candid, there are some who have too much good sense to esteem such monkey-like animals as these, in whose formation, as the saying is, the tailors and barbers go halves with God Almighty; and since these are the only persons whose esteem is worth a wish, I do not know but that, upon the whole, the advice of these old fellows may be worth following.

You cannot conceive the satisfaction it would give me to have a letter from you. Write me very circumstantially everything which happened at the wedding. Was she there? because, if she was, I ought to have been at the Devil for not being there too. If there is any news stirring in town or country, such as deaths, courtships, or marriages, in the circle of my acquaintance, let me know it. Remember me affectionately to all the young ladies of my acquaintance, particularly the Miss Burwells, and Miss Potters, and tell them that though that heavy earthly part of me, my body, be absent, the better half of me, my soul, is ever with them, and that my best wishes shall ever

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attend them. Tell Miss Alice Corbin that I verily believe the rats knew I was to win a pair of garters from her, or they never would have been so cruel as to carry mine away. This very consideration makes me so sure of the bet, that I shall ask everybody I see from that part of the world what pretty gentleman is making his addresses to her. I would fain ask the favor of Miss Becca Burwell to give me another watch-paper of her own cutting, which I should esteem much more, though it were a plain round one, than the nicest in the world cut by other hands; however, I am afraid she would think this presumption, after my suffering the other to get spoiled. If you think you can excuse me to her for this, I should be glad if you would ask her. Tell Miss Sukey Potter that I heard, just before I came out of town, that she was offended with me about something, what it is I do not know; but this I know, that I never was guilty of the least disrespect to her in my life, either in word or deed; as far from it as it has been possible for one to be. I suppose when we meet next, she will be *endeavoring* to repay an imaginary affront with a real one; but she may save herself the trouble, for nothing that she can say or do to me shall ever lessen her in my esteem, and I am determined always to look upon her as the same honest-hearted, good-humored, agreeable lady I ever did. Tell—tell—in short, tell them all ten thousand things more than either you or I can now or ever shall think of as long as we live.

My mind has been so taken up with thinking of

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my acquaintances, that, till this moment, I almost imagined myself in Williamsburg, talking to you in our old unreserved way; and never observed, till I turned over the leaf, to what an immoderate size I had swelled my letter; however, that I may not tire your patience by further additions. I will make but this one more, that I am sincerely and affectionately,

Dear Page, your friend and servant.

P. S. I am now within an easy day's ride of Shadwell, whither I shall proceed in two or three days.

TO JOHN PAGE.

SHADWELL, Jan. 20, 1763.

DEAR PAGE,—To tell you the plain truth, I have not a syllable to write to you about. For I do not conceive that anything can happen in my world which you would give a curse to know, or I either. All things here appear to me to trudge on in one and the same round: we rise in the morning that we may eat breakfast, dinner and supper, and go to bed again that we may get up the next morning and do the same: so that you never saw two peas more alike than our yesterday and to-day. Under these circumstances, what would you have me say? Would you that I should write nothing but truth? I tell you I know nothing that is true. Or would you rather that I should write you a pack of lies? Why, unless they were more ingenious than I am able to

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invent, they would furnish you with little amusement. What can I do then? nothing, but ask you the news in your world. How have you done since I saw you? How did Nancy look at you when you danced with her at Southall's? Have you any glimmering of hope? How does R. B. do? Had I better stay here and do nothing, or go down and do less? or, in other words, had I better stay here while I am here, or go down that I may have the pleasure of sailing up the river again in a full-rigged flat? Inclination tells me to go, receive my sentence, and be no longer in suspense; but reason says, if you go, and your attempt proves unsuccessful, you will be ten times more wretched than ever. In my last to you, dated Fairfield, Dec. 25, I wrote to you of the losses I had sustained; in the present I may mention one more, which is the loss of the whites of my eyes, in the room of which I have got reds, which gives me such exquisite pain that I have not attempted to read anything since a few days after Jack Walker went down, and God knows when I shall be able to do it. I have some thoughts of going to Petersburg, if the actors go there in May. If I do, I do not know but I may keep on to Williamsburg, as the birth night will be near. I hear that Ben Harrison has been to Wilton: let me know his success. Have you an inclination to travel, Page? because if you have, I shall be glad of your company. For you must know that as soon as the Rebecca (the name I intend to give the vessel above mentioned) is completely finished, I intend to hoist

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sail and away. I shall visit particularly England, Holland, France, Spain, Italy, (where I would buy me a good fiddle,) and Egypt, and return through the British provinces to the Northward home. This to be sure, would take us two or three years, and if we should not both be cured of love in that time, I think the devil would be in it. After desiring you to remember me to acquaintances below, male and female, I subscribe myself,

Dear Page, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN PAGE.

SHADWELL, July 15th, 1763.

DEAR PAGE,—Yours of May 30th came safe to hand. The rival you mentioned I know not whether to think formidable or not, as there has been so great an opening for him during my absence. I say *has been*, because I expect there is one no longer. Since you have undertaken to act as my attorney, you advise me to go immediately and lay siege *in form*. You certainly did not think, at the time you wrote this, of that paragraph in my letter wherein I mentioned to you my resolution of going to Britain. And to begin an affair of that kind now, and carry it on so long a time in form, is by no means a proper plan. No, no, Page; whatever assurances I may give her in private of my esteem for her, or whatever assurances I may ask in return from her, depend on it—they must be kept in private. Necessity will oblige

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me to proceed in a method which is not generally thought fair; that of treating with a ward before obtaining the approbation of her guardian. I say necessity will oblige me to it, because I never can bear to remain in suspense so long a time. If I am to succeed, the sooner I know it, the less uneasiness I shall have to go through. If I am to meet with a disappointment, the sooner I know it, the more of life I shall have to wear it off; and if I do meet with one, I hope in God, and verily believe, it will be the last. I assure you, that I almost envy you your present freedom; and if Belinda will not accept of my service, it shall never be offered to another. That she may, I pray most sincerely; but that she will, she never gave me reason to hope. With regard to my not proceeding in form, I do not know how she may like it. I am afraid not much. That her guardians would not, if they should know of it, is very certain. But I should think that if they were consulted after I return, it would be sufficient. The greatest inconvenience would be my not having the liberty of visiting so freely. This is a subject worth your talking over with her; and I wish you would, and would transmit to me your whole confab at length. I should be scared to death at making her so unreasonable a proposal as that of waiting until I return from Britain, unless she could first be prepared for it. I am afraid it will make my chance of succeeding considerably worse. But the event at last must be this, that if she consents, I shall be happy;

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if she does not, I must *endeavor* to be as much so as possible. I have thought a good deal on your case, and as mine may perhaps be similar, I must endeavor to look on it in the same light in which I have often advised you to look on yours. Perfect happiness, I believe, was never intended by the Deity to be the lot of one of his creatures in this world; but that he has very much put in our power the nearness of our approaches to it, is what I have steadfastly believed.

The most fortunate of us, in our journey through life, frequently meet with calamities and misfortunes which may greatly afflict us; and, to fortify our minds against the attacks of these calamities and misfortunes, should be one of the principal studies and endeavors of our lives. The only method of doing this is to assume a perfect resignation to the Divine will, to consider that whatever does happen, must happen; and that, by our uneasiness, we cannot prevent the blow before it does fall, but we may add to its force after it has fallen. These considerations, and others such as these, may enable us in some measure to surmount the difficulties thrown in our way; to bear up with a tolerable degree of patience under this burthen of life; and to proceed with a pious and unshaken resignation, till we arrive at our journey's end, when we may deliver up our trust into the hands of him who gave it, and receive such reward as to him shall seem proportioned to our merit. Such, dear Page, will be the language of the

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man who considers his situation in this life, and such should be the language of every man who would wish to render that situation as easy as the nature of it will admit. Few things will disturb him at all: nothing will disturb him much.

If this letter was to fall into the hands of some of our gay acquaintance, your correspondent and his solemn notions would probably be the subjects of a great deal of mirth and raillery, but to you, I think, I can venture to send it. It is in effect a continuation of the many conversations we have had on subjects of this kind; and I heartily wish we could now continue these conversations face to face. The time will not be very long now before we may do it, as I expect to be in Williamsburg by the first of October, if not sooner. I do not know that I shall have occasion to return, if I can rent rooms in town to lodge in; and to prevent the inconvenience of moving my lodgings for the future, I think to build: no castle though, I assure you; only a small house, which shall contain a room for myself and another for you, and no more, unless Belinda should think proper to favor us with her company, in which case I will enlarge the plan as much as she pleases. Make my compliments to her particularly, as also to Sukey Potter, Judy Burwell, and such others of my acquaintance as enquire after me. I am,

Dear Page, your sincere friend.

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TO JOHN PAGE.

WILLIAMSBURG, October 7, 1763.

DEAR PAGE,—In the most melancholy fit that ever any poor soul was, I sit down to write to you. Last night, as merry as agreeable company and dancing with Belinda in the Apollo could make me, I never could have thought the succeeding sun would have seen me so wretched as I now am! I was prepared to say a great deal: I had dressed up, in my own mind, such thoughts as occurred to me, in as moving a language as I knew how, and expected to have performed in a tolerably creditable manner. But, good God! When I had an opportunity of venting them, a few broken sentences, uttered in great disorder, and interrupted with pauses of uncommon length, were the too visible marks of my strange confusion! The whole confab I will tell you, word for word, if I can, when I see you, which God send may be soon. Affairs at W. and M. are in the greatest confusion. Walker, M'Clurg and Wat Jones are expelled *pro tempore*, or, as Horrox softens it, rusticated for a month. Lewis Burwell, Warner Lewis, and one Thompson, have fled to escape flagellation. I should have excepted Warner Lewis, who came off of his own accord. Jack Walker leaves town on Monday. The court is now at hand, which I must attend constantly, so that unless you come to town, there is little probability of my meeting with you anywhere else. For God sake come. I am, dear Page, your sincere friend.

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TO JOHN PAGE.

DEVILSBURG, January 19, 1764.

The contents of your letter have not a little alarmed me; and really, upon seriously weighing them with what has formerly passed between ——— and myself, I am somewhat at a loss what to conclude; your "*semper saltat, semper ridet, semper loquitur, semper solicitat,*" &c., appear a little suspicious, but good God! it is impossible! I told you our confab in the Apollo; but I believe I never told you that we had on another occasion. I then opened my mind more freely, and more fully. I mentioned the necessity of my going to England, and the delays which would consequently be occasioned by that. I said in what manner I should conduct myself till then, and explained my reasons, which appears to give that satisfaction I could have wished; in short, I managed in such a manner that I was tolerable easy myself, without doing anything which could give *αδωλεβ's* friends the least umbrage, were the whole that passed to be related to them. I asked no question which would admit of a categorical answer; but I assured *αδωλεβ* that such questions would one day be asked—in short, were I to have another interview with him, I could say nothing now which I did not say then; and were I, with a view of obtaining one, *licentiam solicitandi aliis, quibus degit postulare,* it would be previously necessary to go the rounds *cum custodibus;* and after all this, he could be in no other situation

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than he is at present. After the proofs I have given of my sincerity, he can be under no apprehension of a change in my sentiments; and were I to do as my friends advise me, I would give no better security than he has at present. He is satisfied that I shall make him an offer, and if he intends to accept of it, he will disregard those made by others; my fate depends on αδικιεβ's present resolutions, by them I must stand or fall—if they are not favorable to me, it is out of my power to say anything to make them so which I have not said already; so that a visit could not possibly be of the least weight, and it is, I am sure, what he does not in the least expect. I hear you are courting F——y B——l, but shall not listen to it till I hear it from you. When I was up the country, I wrote a letter to you, dated Fairfield, Dec. 25, 1763; let me know if you have received such a one. As I suppose you do not use your Statutes of Britain, if you can lend them to me, till I can provide myself with a copy, it will infinitely oblige me. Adieu, dear Page.

TO GOVERNOR PAGE.

DEVILSBURG,[1] January 23, 1764.

DEAR PAGE,—I received your letter of Wednesday, the 18th instant; in that, of this day, you mention one which you wrote last Friday, and sent by the

[1] From this designation of the ancient metropolis, it would seem even then to have been no favorite with him.

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Secretary's boy; but I have neither seen nor heard of such a one. God send mine of January 19 to you may not have shared the same fate; for, by your letter, I am uncertain whether you have received it or not; you therein say, "you hope to have received an answer from me by this time," by which I judge it has miscarried; but you mention mine of December 25th, which put me in spirits again, as I do not know how you should have got intelligence that I had wrote such a one, unless you had seen my letter of Jan. 19, in which it was mentioned—yes, there is one other way by which you might have received such intelligence. My letter of Jan. 19 may have been opened, and the person who did it may have been further incited by curiosity, to ask you if you had received such a letter as they saw mentioned therein; but God send, and I hope this is not the case. Sukey Potter, to whom I sent it, told me yesterday she delivered it to Mr. T. Nelson, the younger, who had delivered it to you—I hope with his own hand. I wish I had followed your example, and wrote it in Latin, and that I had called my dear *campana in die*,[1] instead of *αδνιλεβ*.

We must fall on some scheme of communicating

[1] The lady here alluded to is manifestly the Miss Rebecca Burwell mentioned in his first letter; but what suggested the quaint designations of her is not so obvious. In the first of them, Belinda, translated into dog Latin, which was there, as elsewhere, among the *facetiæ* of young collegians, became *campana in die*, that is *bell in day*. In the second, the name is reversed, and becomes *adnileb*, which, for further security, is written in Greek characters, and the lady spoken of in the masculine gender.

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our thoughts to each other, which shall be totally unintelligible to every one but to ourselves. I will send you some of these days Shelton's Tachygraphical Alphabet, and directions. Jack Walker is engaged to Betsey Moore, and desired all his brethren might be made acquainted with his happiness. But I hear he will not be married this year or two. Put *campana in die* in mind of me; tell him I think as I always did. I have sent my horses up the country, so that it is out of my power to take even an airing on horseback at any time. My paper holds out no longer, so must bid you adieu.

TO JOHN PAGE.

DEVILSBURG, April 9, 1764.

DEAR PAGE,—This letter will be conveyed to you by the assistance of our friend Warner Lewis. Poor fellow! never did I see one more sincerely captivated in my life. He walked to the Indian camp with her yesterday, by which means he had an opportunity of giving her two or three love squeezes by the hand; and, like a true arcadian swain, has been so enraptured ever since, that he is company for no one. B——y has at last bestowed her hand on B——d; and whether it was for money, beauty, or principle, will be so nice a dispute, that no one will venture to pronounce. Two days before the wedding I was not a little surprised, on going to the door at my house, to see him alight from his horse. He stepped up to

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me, and desired the favor of me to come to Mr. Yates' at such a time. It was so unexpected, that for some time I could make no reply; at last, I said "yes," and turned about and walked back into my room. I accordingly attended, and to crown the joke, when I got there, was dubbed a bridesman. There were many other curious circumstances too tedious to mention here. Jack Walker is expected in town to-morrow. How does your pulse beat after your trip to the Isle of Wight? What a high figure I should have cut, had I gone! When I heard who visited you there, I thought I had met with the narrowest escape in the world. I wonder how I should have behaved—I am sure I should have been at a great loss. If your mistress can spare you a little time, your friends here would be very glad to see you, particularly Small and myself, as everything is now ready for taking the height of this place above the water of the creeks. Fleming's relapse will justly afford you great matter of triumph, after rallying you so much on being in love.

Adieu, dear Page.

P. S. Walker is just arrived—he goes out of town on Wednesday, and will return again in about three weeks.

TO JOHN PAGE.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Feb. 21, 1770.

DEAR PAGE,—I am to acquaint Mrs. Page of the loss of my favorite pullet; the consequence of which

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will readily occur to her. I promised also to give her some Virginia silk which I had expected, and I begin to wish my expectation may not prove vain. I fear she will think me but an ungainly acquaintance. My late loss may perhaps have reached you by this time; I mean the loss of my mother's house by fire, and in it of every paper I had in the world, and almost every book. On a reasonable estimate I calculate the *cost* of the books burned to have been £200 sterling. Would to God it had been the money, *then* had it never cost me a sigh! To make the loss more sensible, it fell principally on my books of Common Law, of which I have but one left, at that time lent out. Of papers too of every kind I am utterly destitute. All of these, whether public or private, of business or of amusement, have perished in the flames. I had made some progress in preparing for the succeeding General Court; and having as was my custom, thrown my thoughts into the form of notes, I troubled my head no more with them. These are gone, and like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a trace behind. The records also, and other papers which furnished me with states of the several cases, having shared the same fate, I have no foundation whereon to set out anew. I have in vain attempted to recollect some of them; the defect sometimes of one, sometimes of more circumstances, rendering them so imperfect that I can make nothing of them. What am I to do then in April? The resolution which the Court has

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declared of admitting no continuances of causes seemed to be unalterable; yet it might surely be urged, that my case is too singular to admit of their being often troubled with the like excuse. Should it be asked, what are the misfortunes of an individual to a Court? The answer of a Court, as well as of an individual, if left to me, should be in the words of Terence, "*homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto*"—but a truce with this disagreeable subject.

Am I never more to have a letter from you? Why the devil don't you write? But I suppose you are always in the moon, or some of the planetary regions. I mean you are there in idea; and, unless you mend, you shall have my consent to be there *de facto;* at least, during the vacations of the Court and Assembly. If your spirit is too elevated to advert to sublunary subjects, depute my friend Mrs. Page to support your correspondences. Methinks I should, with wonderful pleasure, open and peruse a letter written by so fair, and (what is better) so friendly hands. If thinking much of you would entitle me to the civility of a letter, I assure you I merit a very long one. If this conflagration, by which I am burned out of a home, had come before I had advanced so far in preparing another, I do not know but I might have cherished some treasonable thoughts of leaving these my native hills; indeed I should be much happier were I nearer to Rosewell and Severn hills—however, the gods, I fancy, were

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apprehensive that if we were placed together, we should pull down the moon, or play some such devilish prank with their works. I reflect often with pleasure on the philosophical evenings I passed at Rosewell in my last visits there. I was always fond of philosophy, even in its drier forms; but from a ruby lip, it comes with charms irresistible. Such a feast of sentiment must exhilarate and lengthen life, at least as much as the feast of the sensualist shortens it—in a word, I prize it so highly, that, if you will at any time collect the same *Belle Assemblée*, on giving me three days previous notice, I shall certainly repair to my place as a member of it. Should it not happen before I come down, I will carry Sally Nicholas in the green chair to Newquarter, where your periagua (how the —— should I spell that word?) will meet us, automaton-like, of its own accord. You know I had a wagon which moved itself—cannot we construct a boat then which shall row itself? *Amicus noster, Fons,*[1] *quo modo agit, et quid agit?* You may be all dead for anything we can tell here. I expect he will follow the good old rule of driving one passion out by letting another in. *Clavum clavo pangere* was your advice to me on a similar occasion. I hope you will watch his immersion as narrowly as if he were one of Jupiter's satellites; and give me immediate notice, that I may prepare a dish of advice. I do not mean, Madam, to advise him against it. On the contrary, I

[1] Probably Mr. William Fontaine, of Hanover county.

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am become an advocate for the passion; for I too am *cælo tactus*, *Currus*[1] *bene se habet.* He speaks, thinks, and dreams of nothing but his young son. This friend of ours, Page, in a very small house, with a table, half a dozen chairs, and one or two servants, is the happiest man in the universe. Every incident in life he so takes as to render it a source of pleasure. With as much benevolence as the heart of man will hold, but with an utter neglect of the costly apparatus of life, he exhibits to the world a new phenomenon in philosophy—the Samian sage in the tub of the cynic. Name me sometimes *homunculo tuo*, not forgetting little *dic mendacium.* I am determined not to enter on the next page, lest I should extend this nonsense to the bottom of that also. *A dieu je vous commis*, not doubting his care of you both. TH: JEFFERSON.

TO CHAS. MCPHERSON.

ALBEMARLE, IN VIRGINIA, Feb. 25th, 1773.

DEAR SIR,—Encouraged by the small acquaintance which I had the pleasure of having contracted with you during your residence in this country, I take the liberty of making the present application to you. I understood you were related to the gentleman of your name (Mr. James McPherson), to whom the world is so much indebted for the elegant

[1] By this term, he no doubt designated Mr. Dabney Carr, his brother-in-law.

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collection, arrangement, and translation of Ossian's poems. These pieces have been and will, I think, during my life, continue to be to me the sources of daily and exalted pleasures. The tender and the sublime emotions of the mind were never before so wrought up by the human hand. I am not ashamed to own that I think this rude bard of the North the greatest poet that has ever existed. Merely for the pleasure of reading his works, I am become desirous of learning the language in which he sung, and of possessing his songs in their original form. Mr. McPherson, I think, informs us he is possessed of the originals. Indeed, a gentleman has lately told me he had seen them in print; but I am afraid he has mistaken a specimen from Temora, annexed to some of the editions of the translation, for the whole works. If they are printed, it will abridge my request and your trouble, to the sending me a printed copy; but if there be more such, my petition is, that you would be so good as to use your interest with Mr. McPherson to obtain leave to take a manuscript copy of them, and procure it to be done. I would choose it in a fair, round hand, on fine paper, with a good margin, bound in parchments as elegantly as possible, lettered on the back, and marbled or gilt on the edges of the leaves. I would not regard expense in doing this. I would further beg the favor of you to give me a catalogue of the books written in that language, and to send me such of them as may be necessary for learning it. These

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will, of course, include a grammar and dictionary. The cost of these, as well as the copy of Ossian, will be (for me), on demand, answered by Mr. Alexander McCaul, sometime of Virginia, merchant, but now of Glasgow, or by your friend Mr. Ninian Minzees, of Richmond, in Virginia, to whose care the books may be sent. You can, perhaps, tell me whether we may ever hope to see any more of those Celtic pieces published. Manuscript copies of any which are in print, it would at any time give me the greatest happiness to receive. The glow of one warm thought is to me worth more than money. I hear with pleasure from your friend that your path through life is likely to be smoothed by success. I wish the business and the pleasures of your situation would admit leisure now and then to scribble a line to one who wishes you every felicity, and would willingly merit the appellation of, dear sir,

Your friend and humble servant.

TO COL. A. CARY.

Dec. 9th, 1774.

DEAR SIR,—As I mean to be a conscientious observer of the measures generally thought requisite for the preservation of our independent rights, so I think myself bound to account to my country for any act of mine which might wear an appearance of contravening them. I, therefore, take the liberty of stating to you the following matter, that through

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your friendly intervention, it may be communicated to the committee of your county. You may remember that it was about the last of May that the House of Burgesses, after its dissolution, met in Raleigh, and formed our first association against the future use of tea only; tho' the proceedings of the ministry against the town of Boston were then well known to us.

I believe nobody thought at that time of extending our association further, to the total interruption of our commerce with Britain; or, if it was proposed by any (which I don't recollect), it was condemned by the general sense of the members who formed that association. Two or three days, therefore, after this, I wrote to Cary & Co., of London, for fourteen pairs of sash windows, to be sent to me ready made and glazed, with a small parcel of spare glass to mend with. This letter went by a ship, which sailed about the third of June, just before Power arrived here. I did not suppose they would send them till Power should come in again in the spring of 1775.

About the middle of June, as nearly as I can recollect, a few of the late members were again convened (in consequence of fresh advices from Boston), and then it was suggested that a more extensive association might be necessary. A convention met for that purpose the first of August, and formed a new association, of which I received a copy about the 11th of the month. But as a general Congress was then appointed to be held to reconsider the

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same matters, and it was agreed that our association should be subject to any alteration that they might recommend, I did not write to countermand my order, thinking I should have sufficient time after the final determination of the Congress should be known, to countermand it before Power should sail in the spring. Accordingly, within a few days after receiving a copy of the general association, I wrote to Cary & Co. not to send the sashes and glass which I had ordered, and gave my letter to the care of a gentleman (Mr. Evans) just then going downward, who promised to send it out speedily; but three or four days after I received a letter from those gentlemen, dated August 29th, in which they inform me my window frames and glass are ready, but that it being necessary to detain them about a month to harden the puttying, they were not sent in that ship, but might be expected by the next ship afterwards. From this I conclude they may be near arriving at this time, in which case they will come under the 1st and 10th articles of the association. In order, therefore, that no proceeding of mine might give a handle for traducing our measures, I thought it better previously to lay before your committee, within whose ward they will probably be landed, a full state of the matter, by which it might be seen under what expectations I had failed to give an earlier countermand, and to show that, as they come under the prohibitions of the Continental association, (which, without the spirit of prophecy, could

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not have been foretold when I ordered them,) so I mean they shall be subject to its condemnation. To your committee, therefore, if landed within their county, I submit the disposal of them, which shall be obeyed as soon as made known to their and your

Most humble servant.

Dec. 9th, 1774. A copy of this sent to Col. A. Cary, and another to Col. B. Harrison, by Mr. Marrei.

TO DR. WILLIAM SMALL.

May 7, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Within this week we have received the unhappy news of an action of considerable magnitude, between the King's troops and our brethren of Boston, in which it is said five hundred of the former, with the Earl of Percy, are slain. That such an action has occurred, is undoubted, though perhaps the circumstances may not have reached us with truth. This accident has cut off our last hope of reconciliation, and a phrensy of revenge seems to have seized all ranks of people. It is a lamentable circumstance, that the only mediatory power, acknowledged by both parties, instead of leading to a reconciliation his divided people, should pursue the incendiary purpose of still blowing up the flames, as we find him constantly doing, in every speech and public declaration. This may, perhaps,

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be intended to intimidate into acquiescence, but the effect has been most unfortunately otherwise. A little knowledge of human nature, and attention to its ordinary workings, might have foreseen that the spirits of the people here were in a state, in which they were more likely to be provoked, than frightened, by haughty deportment. And to fill up the measure of irritation, a proscription of individuals has been substituted in the room of just trial. Can it be believed, that a grateful people will suffer those to be consigned to execution, whose sole crime has been the developing and asserting their rights? Had the Parliament possessed the power of reflection, they would have avoided a measure as impotent, as it was inflammatory. When I saw Lord Chatham's bill, I entertained high hope that a reconciliation could have been brought about. The difference between his terms, and those offered by our Congress, might have been accommodated, if entered on, by both parties, with a disposition to accommodate. But the dignity of Parliament, it seems, can brook no opposition to its power. Strange, that a set of men, who have made sale of their virtue to the Minister, should yet talk of retaining dignity! But I am getting into politics, though I sat down only to ask your acceptance of the wine, and express my constant wishes for your happiness.

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TO JOHN RANDOLPH, ESQ.

MONTICELLO, August 25, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I am sorry the situation of our country should render it not eligible to you to remain longer in it. I hope the returning wisdom of Great Britain will, ere long, put an end to this unnatural contest. There may be people to whose tempers and dispositions contention is pleasing, and who, therefore, wish a continuance of confusion, but to me it is of all states but one, the most horrid. My first wish is a restoration of our just rights; my second, a return of the happy period, when, consistently with duty, I may withdraw myself totally from the public stage, and pass the rest of my days in domestic ease and tranquillity, banishing every desire of ever hearing what passes in the world. Perhaps (for the latter adds considerably to the warmth of the former wish), looking with fondness towards a reconciliation with Great Britain, I cannot help hoping you may be able to contribute towards expediting this good work. I think it must be evident to yourself, that the Ministry have been deceived by their officers on this side of the water, who (for what purpose I cannot tell) have constantly represented the American opposition as that of a small faction, in which the body of the people took little part. This, you can inform them, of your own knowledge, is untrue. They have taken it into their heads, too, that we are cowards, and

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shall surrender at discretion to an armed force. The past and future operations of the war must confirm or undeceive them on that head. I wish they were thoroughly and minutely acquainted with every circumstance relative to America, as it exists in truth. I am persuaded, this would go far towards disposing them to reconciliation. Even those in Parliament who are called friends to America, seem to know nothing of our real determinations. I observe, they pronounced in the last Parliament, that the Congress of 1774 did not mean to insist rigorously on the terms they held out, but kept something in reserve, to give up; and, in fact, that they would give up everything but the article of taxation. Now, the truth is far from this, as I can affirm, and put my honor to the assertion. Their continuance in this error may, perhaps, produce very ill consequences. The Congress stated the lowest terms they thought possible to be accepted, in order to convince the world they were not unreasonable. They gave up the monopoly and regulation of trade, and all acts of Parliament prior to 1764, leaving to British generosity to render these, at some future time, as easy to America as the interest of Britain would admit. But this was before blood was spilt. I cannot affirm, but have reason to think, these terms would not now be accepted. I wish no false sense of honor, no ignorance of our real intentions, no vain hope that partial concessions of right will be accepted, may induce the Ministry to trifle

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with accommodation, till it shall be out of their power ever to accommodate. If, indeed, Great Britain, disjoined from her colonies, be a match for the most potent nations of Europe, with the colonies thrown into their scale, they may go on securely. But if they are not assured of this, it would be certainly unwise, by trying the event of another campaign, to risk our accepting a foreign aid, which, perhaps, may not be obtainable, but on condition of everlasting avulsion from Great Britain. This would be thought a hard condition, to those who still wish for re-union with their parent country. I am sincerely one of those, and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation on earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too, who, rather than submit to the rights of legislating for us, assumed by the British Parliament, and which late experience has shown they will so cruelly exercise, would lend my hand to sink the whole Island in the ocean.

If undeceiving the Minister, as to matters of fact, may change his disposition, it will, perhaps, be in your power, by assisting to do this, to render service to the whole empire, at the most critical time, certainly, that it has ever seen. Whether Britain shall continue the head of the greatest empire on earth, or shall return to her original station in the political scale of Europe, depends, perhaps, on the resolutions of the succeeding winter. God send they may be wise and salutary for us all. I shall be glad to

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hear from you as often as you may be disposed to think of things here. You may be at liberty, I expect, to communicate some things, consistently with your honor, and the duties you will owe to a protecting nation. Such a communication among individuals, may be mutually beneficial to the contending parties. On this or any future occasion, if I affirm to you any facts, your knowledge of me will enable you to decide on their credibility; if I hazard opinions on the dispositions of men or other speculative points, you can only know they are my opinions. My best wishes for your felicity, attend you, wherever you go, and believe me to be assuredly,

Your friend and servant.

TO JOHN RANDOLPH, ESQ.

PHILADELPHIA, November 29, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I am to give you the melancholy intelligence of the death of our most worthy Speaker, which happened here on the 22d of the last month. He was struck with an apoplexy, and expired within five hours.

I have it in my power to acquaint you, that the success of our arms has corresponded with the justice of our cause. Chambly and St. John's were taken some weeks ago, and in them the whole regular army in Canada, except about forty or fifty men. This day, certain intelligence has reached us, that

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our General, Montgomery, is received into Montreal; and we expect, every hour, to be informed that Quebec has opened its arms to Colonel Arnold, who, with eleven hundred men, was sent from Boston up the Kennebec, and down the Chaudière river to that place. He expected to be there early this month. Montreal acceded to us on the 13th, and Carleton set out, with the shattered remains of his little army, for Quebec, where we hope he will be taken up by Arnold. In a short time, we have reason to hope, the delegates of Canada will join us in Congress, and complete the American union, as far as we wish to have it completed. We hear that one of the British transports has arrived at Boston; the rest are beating off the coast, in very bad weather. You will have heard, before this reaches you, that Lord Dunmore has commenced hostilities in Virginia. That people bore with everything, till he attempted to burn the town of Hampton. They opposed and repelled him, with considerable loss on his side, and none on ours. It has raised our countrymen into a perfect phrensy. It is an immense misfortune, to the whole empire, to have a King of such a disposition at such a time. We are told, and everything proves it true, that he is the bitterest enemy we have. His Minister is able, and that satisfies me that ignorance or wickedness, somewhere, controls him. In an earlier part of this contest, our petitions told him, that from our King there was but one appeal. The admonition

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was despised, and that appeal forced on us. To undo his empire, he has but one truth more to learn, that, after colonies have drawn the sword, there is but one step more they can take. That step is now pressed upon us, by the measures adopted, as if they were afraid we would not take it. Believe me, dear Sir, there is not in the British empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do. But by the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connection on such terms as the British Parliament propose; and in this, I think I speak the sentiments of America. We want neither inducement nor power, to declare and assert a separation. It is will, alone, which is wanting, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our King. One bloody campaign will probably decide, everlastingly, our future course; and I am sorry to find a bloody campaign is decided on. If our winds and waters should not combine to rescue their shores from slavery, and General Howe's reinforcements should arrive in safety, we have hopes he will be inspirited to come out of Boston and take another drubbing; and we must drub him soundly, before the sceptred tyrant will know we are not mere brutes, to crouch under his hand, and kiss the rod with which he designs to scourge us,

Yours, &c.

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TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

PHILADELPHIA, July 8, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—For news, I refer you to your brother, who writes on that head. I enclose you a copy of the Declaration of Independence, as agreed to by the House, and also as originally framed. You will judge whether it is the better or worse for the critics. I shall return to *Virginia* after the 11th of *August*. I wish my successor may be certain to come before that time; in that case I shall hope to see you, and not *Wythe*, in Convention, that the business of Government, which is of everlasting concern, may receive your aid.

Adieu, and believe me to be your friend and servant.

TO DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, PARIS.

VIRGINIA, August 13, 1777.

HONORABLE SIR,—I forbear to write you news, as the time of Mr. Shore's departure being uncertain, it might be old before you receive it, and he can, in person, possess you of all we have. With respect to the State of Virginia in particular, the people seem to have laid aside the monarchical, and taken up the republican government, with as much ease as would have attended their throwing off an old, and putting on a new suit of clothes. Not a single throe has attended this important transformation. A half-dozen aristocratical gentlemen, agonizing

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under the loss of pre-eminence, have sometimes ventured their sarcasms on our political metamorphosis. They have been thought fitter objects of pity, than of punishment. We are, at present, in the complete and quiet exercise of well-organized government, save only that our courts of justice do not open till the fall. I think nothing can bring the security of our continent and its cause into danger, if we can support the credit of our paper. To do that, I apprehend, one of two steps must be taken. Either to procure free trade by alliance with some naval power able to protect it; or, if we find there is no prospect of that, to shut our ports totally, to all the world, and turn our colonies into manufactories. The former would be most eligible, because most conformable to the habits and wishes of our people. Were the British Court to return to their senses in time to seize the little advantage which still remains within their reach, from this quarter, I judge, that, on acknowledging our absolute independence and sovereignty, a commercial treaty beneficial to them, and perhaps even a league of mutual offence and defence, might, not seeing the expense or consequences of such a measure, be approved by our people, if nothing, in the mean time, done on your part, should prevent it. But they will continue to grasp at their desperate sovereignty, till every benefit short of that is forever out of their reach. I wish my domestic situation had rendered it possible for me to join you in the very

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honorable charge confided to you. Residence in a polite Court, society of literati of the first order, a just cause and an approving God, will add length to a life for which all men pray, and none more than

Your most obedient and humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

ALBEMARLE, VIRGINIA, Aug. 21, 1777.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of May 26th came safely to hand. I wish it were in my power to suggest any remedy for the evil you complain of; though, did any occur, I should propose it to you with great diffidence, after knowing you had thought on the subject yourself. There is indeed a fact which may not have come to your knowledge, out of which, perhaps, some little good may be drawn. The borrowing money in Europe, or obtaining credit there for necessaries, has already probably been essayed, and it is supposed with some degree of success. But I expect your applications have as yet been made only to France, Holland, or such other States as are of principal note. There is, however, a small power well disposed to our cause, and, as I am informed, possessed of abilities to assist us in this way. I speak of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The little States of Italy, you know, have had long peace, and show no disposition to interrupt that peace shortly. The Grand Duke, being somewhat avaricious in his nature, has availed himself of the opportunity of

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collecting and hoarding what money he has been able to gather. I am informed from good authority (an officer who was concerned in the business of his treasury) that about three years ago he had ten millions of crowns lying dead in his coffers. Of this, it is thought possible as much might be borrowed as would amount to a million of pounds lawful money. At any rate, the attempt might be worth making. Perhaps an application from Dr. Franklin, who has some acquaintance in that court, might be sufficient; or as it might be prudent to sound well before the application, in order to prevent the discredit of a rebuff, perhaps Congress would think it worth while to send a special agent there to negotiate the matter. I think we have a gentleman here, who would do it with dexterity and fidelity. He is a native of that Duchy, well connected there, conversant in courts, of great understanding and equal zeal in our cause. He came over not long since to introduce the cultivation of vines, olives, &c., among us. Should you think the matter worth a further thought, either of the Cols. Lee's, to whom he is known, can acquaint you more fully of his character. If the money can be obtained in specie, it may be applied to reduce the quantity of circulating paper, and be so managed as to help the credit of that which will remain in circulation. If credit alone can be obtained for the manufactures of the country, it will still help us to clothe our armies, or to increase at market the necessaries our people want.

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What upon earth can Howe mean by the manœuvre he is now practicing? There seems to me no object in this country which can be either of utility or reputation to his cause. I hope it will prove of a piece with all the other follies they have committed. The forming a junction with the northern army up the Hudson river, or taking possession of Philadelphia, might have been a feather in his cap, and given them a little reputation in Europe—the former as being the design with which they came, the latter as being a place of the first reputation abroad, and the residence of Congress. Here he may destroy the little hamlet of Williamsburg, steal a few slaves, and lose half his army among the fens and marshes of our lower country, or by the heat of the climate.

I am, dear sir, yours, &c.

TO ———.[1]

WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, June 8th, 1778.

SIR,—Your letter of September 15th, 1777, from Paris, comes safe to hand. We have not, however, had the pleasure of seeing Mr. De Crenis, the bearer of it, in this country, as he joined the army in Pennsylvania as soon as he arrived.

I should have taken particular pleasure in serving him on your recommendation. From the kind anxiety expressed in your letter, as well as from

[1] This letter has no address.]

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other sources of information, we discover that our enemies have filled Europe with Thrasonic accounts of victories they had never won and conquests they were fated never to make. While these accounts alarmed our friends in Europe, they afforded us diversions. We have long been out of all fear for the event of the war. I enclose you a list of the killed, wounded, and captives of the enemy from the commencement of hostilities at Lexington, in April, 1775, until November, 1777, since which time there has been no event of any consequence. This is the best history of the war which can be brought within the compass of a letter. I believe the account to be near the truth, though it is difficult to get at the numbers lost by an enemy with absolute precision. Many of the articles have been communicated to us from England as taken from the official returns made by their General. I wish it were in my power to send you as just an account of our loss. But this cannot be done without an application to the war office, which, being in another county, is at this time out of my reach. I think that upon the whole it has been about one-half the number lost by them; in some instances more, but in others less. This difference is ascribed to our superiority in taking aim when we fire; every soldier in our army having been intimate with his gun from his infancy. If there could have been a doubt before as to the event of the war, it is now totally removed by the interposition of France, and the generous

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alliance she has entered into with us. Though much of my time is employed in the councils of America, I have yet a little leisure to indulge my fondness for philosophical studies.

I could wish to correspond with you on subjects of that kind. It might not be unacceptable to you to be informed, for instance, of the true power of our climate, discoverable from the thermometer, from the force and direction of the winds, the quantity of rain, the plants which grow without shelter in winter, &c. On the other hand, we should be much pleased with cotemporary observations on the same particulars in your country, which will give us a comparative view of the two climates. Fahrenheit's thermometer is the only one in use with us. I make my daily observations as early as possible in the morning, and again about four o'clock in the afternoon, generally showing the maxima of cold and heat in the course of 24 hours. I wish I could gratify your Botanical taste, but I am acquainted with nothing more than the first principles of that science; yet myself and my friends may furnish you with any Botanical subjects which this country affords, and are not to be had with you, and I shall take pleasure in procuring them when pointed out by you. The greatest difficulty will be the means of conveyance during the continuance of the war.

If there is a gratification, which I envy any people in this world, it is to your country its music. This

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is the favorite passion of my soul, and fortune has cast my lot in a country where it is in a state of deplorable barbarism. From the line of life in which we conjecture you to be, I have for some time lost the hope of seeing you here. Should the event prove so, I shall ask your assistance in procuring a substitute, who may be a proficient in singing, &c., on the Harpsichord. I should be contented to receive such an one two or three years hence; when it is hoped he may come more safely and find here a greater plenty of those useful things which commerce alone can furnish.

The bounds of an American fortune will not admit the indulgence of a domestic band of musicians, yet I have thought that a passion for music might be reconciled with that economy which we are obliged to observe. I retain among my domestic servants a gardener, a weaver, a cabinet-maker, and a stonecutter, to which I would add a *vigneron*. In a country where, like yours, music is cultivated and practiced by every class of men, I suppose there might be found persons of these trades who could perform on the French horn, clarinet, or hautboy, and bassoon, so that one might have a band of two French horns, two clarinets, two hautboys, and a bassoon, without enlarging their domestic expenses. A certainty of employment for a half dozen years, and at the end of that time, to find them, if they chose, a conveyance to their own country, might induce them to come here on reasonable wages. Without meaning

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to give you trouble, perhaps it might be practicable for you, in your ordinary intercourse with your people, to find out such men disposed to come to America. Sobriety and good nature would be desirable parts of their characters. If you think such a plan practicable, and will be so kind as to inform me what will be necessary to be done on my part, I will take care that it shall be done. The necessary expenses, when informed of them, I can remit before they are wanting, to any port in France, with which country alone we have safe correspondence. I am, Sir, with much esteem, your humble servant.

TO DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

MONTICELLO IN ALBEMARLE, VA., July 19, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I sincerely congratulate you on the recovery of Philadelphia, and wish it may be found uninjured by the enemy. How far the interests of literature may have suffered by the injury, or removal of the Orrery, (as it is miscalled,) the public libraries, your papers and implements, are doubts which still excite anxiety. We were much disappointed in Virginia generally, on the day of the great eclipse, which proved to be cloudy.

In Williamsburg, where it was total, I understood only the beginning was seen. At this place, which is lat. 38° 8′, and longitude west from Williamsburg, about 1° 45′, as is conjectured, 11 digits only were supposed to be covered. It was not seen at all until the

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moon had advanced nearly one-third over the sun's disc. Afterwards it was seen at intervals through the whole. The egress particularly was visible. It proved, however, of little use to me, for want of a time-piece that could be depended on, which circumstance, together with the subsequent restoration of Philadelphia to you, has induced me to trouble you with this letter, to remind you of your kind promise of making me an accurate clock, which, being intended for astronomical purposes only, I would have divested of all apparatus for striking, or for any other purpose, which, by increasing its complication, might disturb its accuracy. A companion to it for keeping seconds, and which might be moved easily, would greatly add to its value. The Theodolite, for which I also spoke to you, I can now dispense with, having since purchased a most excellent one.

TO JOHN PAGE.

WILLIAMSBURG, January 22, 1779.

DEAR PAGE,—I received your letter by Mr. Jamieson. It had given me much pain, that the zeal of our respective friends should ever have placed you and me in the situation of competitors. I was comforted, however, with the reflection, that it was their competition, not ours, and that the difference of the numbers which decided between us, was too insignificant to give you a pain, or me a pleasure, had our dispositions towards each other been such as to admit

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those sensations. I know you too well to need an apology for anything you do, and hope you will forever be assured of this; and as to the constructions of the world, they would only have added one to the many sins for which they are to go to the devil. As this is the first, I hope it will be the last, instance of ceremony between us. A desire to see my family, which is in Charles City, carries me thither to-morrow, and I shall not return till Monday. Be pleased to present my compliments to Mrs. Page, and add this to the assurances I have ever given you, that I am, dear Page, your affectionate friend.

TO GEORGE WYTHE.

FOREST, March 1, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—Since I left you, I have reflected on the bill regulating the practising of attornies, and of our omitting to continue the practitioners at the County and General Courts separate. I think the bar of the General Court a proper and excellent nursery for future judges, if it be so regulated that science may be encouraged, and may live there. But this can never be if an inundation of insects is permitted to come from the county courts, and consume the harvest. These people, traversing the counties, seeing the clients frequently at their own courts, or, perhaps, at their own houses, must of necessity pick up all the business. The convenience of frequently seeing their counsel, without going from home, cannot

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be withstood by the country people. Men of science, then, if there were to be any, would only be employed as auxiliary counsel in difficult cases. But can they live by that? Certainly not. The present members of that kind, therefore, must turn marauders in the county courts, and, in future, none will have leisure to acquire science. I should therefore be for excluding the county court attornies; or rather, for taking the general court lawyers from the incessant drudgery of the county courts and confining them to their studies, that they may qualify themselves as well to support their clients, as to become worthy successors to the bench. I hope to see the time when the election of judges of the Supreme Courts shall be restrained to the bars of the General Court and High Court of Chancery; for when I speak of the former above, I mean to include the latter. I should, even in our present bill, have no objection to inserting such a restriction to take place seven or fourteen years hence. Adieu.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY PATRICK HENRY.

ALBEMARLE, March 27, 1779.

SIR,—A report prevailing here, that in consequence of some powers from Congress, the Governor and Council have it in contemplation to remove the Convention troops,[1] either wholly or in part, from their present situation, I take the liberty of troubling

[1 The troops under Burgoyne, captured at Saratoga.]

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you with some observations on that subject. The reputation and interest of our country, in general, may be affected by such a measure: it would, therefore, hardly be deemed an indecent liberty in the most private citizen, to offer his thoughts to the consideration of the Executive. The locality of my situation, particularly in the neighborhood of the present barracks, and the public relation in which I stand to the people among whom they are situated, together with a confidence which a personal knowledge of the members of the Executive gives me, that they will be glad of information from any quarter on a subject interesting to the public, induce me to hope that they will acquit me of impropriety in the present representation.

By an article in the Convention of Saratoga, it is stipulated, on the part of the United States, that the officers shall not be separated from their men. I suppose the term officers, includes *general* as well as *regimental* officers. As there are general officers who command all the troops, no part of them can be separated from these officers without a violation of the article: they cannot, of course, be separated from one another, unless the same general officer could be in different places at the same time. It is true, the article adds the words, "as far as circumstances will admit." This was a necessary qualification; because, in no place in America, I suppose, could there have been found quarters for both officers and men together; those for the officers to be according to

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their rank. So far, then, as the circumstances of the place where they should be quartered, should render a separation necessary, in order to procure quarters for the officers, according to their rank, the article admits that separation. And these are the circumstances which must have been under the contemplation of the parties; both of whom, and all the world beside (who are ultimate judges in the case), would still understand that they were to be as near in the environs of the camp, as convenient quarters could be procured; and not that the qualification of the article destroyed the article itself, and laid it wholly at our discretion. Congress, indeed, have admitted of this separation; but are they so far lords of right and wrong as that our consciences may be quiet with their dispensation? Or is the case amended by saying they leave it optional in the Governor and Council to separate the troops or not? At the same time that it exculpates not them, it is drawing the Governor and Council into a participation in the breach of faith. If indeed it is only proposed, that a separation of the troops shall be referred to the consent of their officers; that is a very different matter. Having carefully avoided conversation with them on public subjects, I cannot say, of my own knowledge, how they would relish such a proposition. I have heard from others, that they will choose to undergo anything together, rather than to be separated, and that they will remonstrate against it in the strongest terms. The Executive,

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therefore, if voluntary agents in this measure, must be drawn into a paper war with them, the more disagreeable, as it seems that faith and reason will be on the other side. As an American, I cannot help feeling a thorough mortification, that our Congress should have permitted an infraction of our public honor; as a citizen of Virginia, I cannot help hoping and confiding, that our Supreme Executive, whose acts will be considered as the acts of the Commonwealth, estimate that honor too highly to make its infraction their own act. I may be permitted to hope, then, that if any removal takes place, it will be a general one; and, as it is said to be left to the Governor and Council to determine on this, I am satisfied that, suppressing every other consideration, and weighing the matter dispassionately, they will determine upon this sole question, Is it for the benefit of those for whom they act, that the Convention troops should be removed from among them? Under the head of interest, these circumstances, viz., the expense of building barracks, said to have been £25,000, and of removing the troops backwards and forwards, amounting to, I know not how much, are not to be pretermitted, merely because they are Continental expenses; for we are a part of the Continent; we must pay a shilling of every dollar wasted. But the sums of money which, by these troops, or on their account, are brought into, and expended in this State, are a great and local advantage. This can require no proof. If, at the conclusion of the war,

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for instance, our share of the Continental debt should be twenty millions of dollars, or say that we are called on to furnish an annual quota of two millions four hundred thousand dollars, to Congress, to be raised by tax, it is obvious that we should raise these given sums with greater or less ease, in proportion to the greater or less quantity of money found in circulation among us. I expect that our circulating money is, by the presence of these troops, at the rate of $30,000 a week, at the least. I have heard, indeed, that an objection arises to their being kept within this State, from the information of the commissary that they cannot be subsisted here. In attending to the information of that officer, it should be borne in mind that the county of King William and its vicinities are one thing, the territory of Virginia another. If the troops could be fed upon long letters, I believe the gentleman at the head of that department in this country, would be the best commissary upon earth. But till I see him determined to act, not to write; to sacrifice his domestic ease to the duties of his appointment, and apply to the resources of this country, wheresoever they are to be had, I must entertain a different opinion of him. I am mistaken if, for the animal subsistence of the troops hitherto, we are not principally indebted to the genius and exertions of Hawkins, during the very short time he lived after his appointment to that department, by your board. His eye immediately pervaded the whole State; it was reduced at once to a regular machine, to a sys-

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tem, and the whole put into movement and animation by the fiat of a comprehensive mind. If the Commonwealth of Virginia cannot furnish these troops with bread, I would ask of the commissariat, which of the thirteen is now become the grain colony? If we are in danger of famine from the addition of four thousand mouths, what is become of that surplus of bread, the exportation of which used to feed the West Indies and Eastern States, and fill the colony with hard money? When I urge the sufficiency of this State, however, to subsist these troops, I beg to be understood, as having in contemplation the quantity of provisions necessary for their real use, and not as calculating what is to be lost by the wanton waste, mismanagement, and carelessness of those employed about it. If magazines of beef and pork are suffered to rot by slovenly butchering, or for want of timely provision and sale; if quantities of flour are exposed, by the commissaries entrusted with the keeping it, to pillage and destruction; and if, when laid up in the Continental stores, it is still to be embezzled and sold, the land of Egypt itself would be insufficient for their supply, and their removal would be necessary, not to a more plentiful country, but to more able and honest commissaries. Perhaps the magnitude of this question, and its relation to the whole State, may render it worth while to await the opinion of the National Council, which is now to meet within a few weeks. There is no danger of distress in the meantime, as the commissaries affirm they have a

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great sufficiency of provisions for some time to come. Should the measure of removing them into another State be adopted, and carried into execution, before the meeting of Assembly, no disapprobation of theirs will bring them back, because they will then be in the power of others, who will hardly give them up.

Want of information as to what may be the precise measure proposed by the Governor and Council, obliges me to shift my ground, and take up the subject in every possible form. Perhaps, they have not thought to remove the troops out of this State altogether, but to some other part of it. Here, the objections arising from the expenses of removal, and of building new barracks, recur. As to animal food, it may be driven to one part of the country as easily as to another: that circumstance, therefore, may be thrown out of the question. As to bread, I suppose they will require about forty or forty-five thousand bushels of grain a year. The place to which it is to be brought to them, is about the centre of the State. Besides, that the country round about is fertile, all the grain made in the counties adjacent to any kind of navigation, may be brought by water to within twelve miles of the spot. For these twelve miles, wagons must be employed; I suppose half a dozen will be a plenty. Perhaps, this part of the expense might have been saved, had the barracks been built on the water; but it is not sufficient to justify their being abandoned now they are built. Wagonage, indeed, seems to the commissariat an article not

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worth economising. The most wanton and studied circuity of transportation has been practised: to mention only one act, they have bought quantities of flour for these troops in Cumberland, have ordered it to be wagoned down to Manchester, and wagoned thence up to the barracks. This fact happened to fall within my own knowledge. I doubt not there are many more such, in order either to produce their total removal, or to run up the expenses of the present situation, and satisfy Congress that the nearer they are brought to the commissary's own bed, the cheaper they will be subsisted. The grain made in the western counties may be brought partly in wagons, as conveniently to this as to any other place; perhaps more so, on account of its vicinity to one of the best passes through the Blue Ridge; and partly by water, as it is near to James river, to the navigation of which, ten counties are adjacent above the falls. When I said that the grain might be brought hither from all the counties of the State adjacent to navigation, I did not mean to say it would be proper to bring it from all. On the contrary, I think the commissary should be instructed, after the next harvest, not to send one bushel of grain to the barracks from below the falls of the rivers, or from the northern counties. The counties on tide water are accessible to the calls for our own army. Their supplies ought, therefore, to be husbanded for them. The counties in the northwestern parts of the State are not only within reach for our own grand army, but

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peculiarly necessary for the support of Macintosh's army; or for the support of any other northwestern expedition, which the uncertain conduct of the Indians should render necessary; insomuch, that if the supplies of that quarter should be misapplied to any other purpose, it would destroy, in embryo, every exertion, either for particular or general safety there. The counties above tide water, in the middle and southern and western parts of the country, are not accessible to calls for either of those purposes, but at such an expense of transportation as the article would not bear. Here, then, is a great field, whose supplies of bread cannot be carried to our army, or rather, which will raise no supplies of bread, because there is nobody to eat them. Was it not, then, wise in Congress to remove to that field four thousand idle mouths, who must otherwise have interfered with the pasture of our own troops? And, if they are removed to any other part of the country, will it not defeat this wise purpose? The mills on the waters of James river, above the falls, open to canoe navigation, are very many. Some of them are of great note, as manufacturers. The barracks are surrounded by mills. There are five or six round about Charlottesville. Any two or three of the whole might, in the course of the winter, manufacture flour sufficient for the year. To say the worst, then, of this situation, it is but twelve miles wrong. The safe custody of these troops is another circumstance worthy consideration. Equally removed from the access of an

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eastern or western enemy; central to the whole State, so that, should they attempt an irruption in any direction, they must pass through a great extent of hostile country; in a neighborhood thickly inhabited by a robust and hardy people, zealous in the American cause, acquainted with the use of arms, and the defiles and passes by which they must issue: it would seem, that in this point of view, no place could have been better chosen.

Their health is also of importance. I would not endeavor to show that their lives are valuable to us, because it would suppose a possibility, that humanity was kicked out of doors in America, and interest only attended to. The barracks occupy the top and brow of a very high hill, (you have been untruly told they were in a bottom.) They are free from fog, have four springs which seem to be plentiful, one within twenty yards of the piquet, two within fifty yards, and another within two hundred and fifty, and they propose to sink wells within the piquet. Of four thousand people, it should be expected, according to the ordinary calculations, that one should die every day. Yet, in the space of near three months, there have been but four deaths among them; two infants under three weeks old, and two others by apoplexy. The officers tell me, the troops were never before so healthy since they were embodied.

But is an enemy so execrable, that, though in captivity, his wishes and comforts are to be disregarded and even crossed? I think not. It is for the benefit

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of mankind to mitigate the horrors of war as much as possible. The practice, therefore, of modern nations, of treating captive enemies with politeness and generosity, is not only delightful in contemplation, but really interesting to all the world, friends, foes and neutrals. Let us apply this: the officers, after considerable hardships, have all procured quarters, comfortable and satisfactory to them. In order to do this, they were obliged, in many instances, to hire houses for a year certain, and at such exorbitant rents, as were sufficient to tempt independent owners to go out of them, and shift as they could. These houses, in most cases, were much out of repair. They have repaired them at a considerable expense. One of the general officers has taken a place for two years, advanced the rent for the whole time, and been obliged, moreover, to erect additional buildings for the accommodation of part of his family, for which there was not room in the house rented. Independent of the brick work, for the carpentry of these additional buildings, I know he is to pay fifteen hundred dollars. The same gentleman, to my knowledge, has paid to one person three thousand six hundred and seventy dollars for different articles to fix himself commodiously. They have generally laid in their stocks of grain and other provisions, for it is well known that officers do not live on their rations. They have purchased cows, sheep, &c., set in to farming, prepared their gardens, and have a prospect of comfort and quiet before them. To turn to the soldiers: the

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environs of the barracks are delightful, the ground cleared, laid off in hundreds of gardens, each enclosed in its separate paling; these well prepared, and exhibiting a fine appearance. General Riedezel alone laid out upwards of two hundred pounds in garden seeds for the German troops only. Judge what an extent of ground these seeds would cover. There is little doubt that their own gardens will furnish them a great abundance of vegetables through the year. Their poultry, pigeons and other preparations of that kind, present to the mind the idea of a company of farmers, rather than a camp of soldiers. In addition to the barracks built for them by the public, and now very comfortable, they have built great numbers for themselves, in such messes as fancied each other; and the whole corps, both officers and men, seem now happy and satisfied with their situation. Having thus found the art of rendering captivity itself comfortable, and carried it into execution, at their own great expense and labor, their spirits sustained by the prospect of gratifications rising before their eyes, does not every sentiment of humanity revolt against the proposition of stripping them of all this, and removing them into new situations, where, from the advanced season of the year, no preparations can be made for carrying themselves comfortably through the heats of summer; and when it is known that the necessary advances for the conveniences already provided, have exhausted their funds and left them unable to make the like exertions anew. Again,

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review this matter, as it may regard appearances. A body of troops, after staying a twelvemonth at Boston, are ordered to take a march of seven hundred miles to Virginia, where, it is said, they may be plentifully subsisted. As soon as they are there, they are ordered on some other march, because, in Virginia, it is said, they cannot be subsisted. Indifferent nations will charge this either to ignorance, or to whim and caprice; the parties interested, to cruelty. They now view the proposition in that light, and it is said, there is a general and firm persuasion among them, that they were marched from Boston with no other purpose than to harass and destroy them with eternal marches. Perseverance in object, though not by the most direct way, is often more laudable than perpetual changes, as often as the object shifts light. A character of steadiness in our councils, is worth more than the subsistence of four thousand people.

There could not have been a more unlucky concurrence of circumstances than when these troops first came. The barracks were unfinished for want of laborers, the spell of weather the worst ever known within the memory of man, no stores of bread laid in, the roads, by the weather and number of wagons, soon rendered impassable: not only the troops themselves were greatly disappointed, but the people in the neighborhood were alarmed at the consequences which a total failure of provisions might produce. In this worst state of things, their situation was seen

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by many and disseminated through the country, so as to occasion a general dissatisfaction, which even seized the minds of reasonable men, who, if not affected by the contagion, must have foreseen that the prospect must brighten, and that great advantages to the people must necessarily arise. It has, accordingly, so happened. The planters, being more generally sellers than buyers, have felt the benefit of their presence in the most vital part about them, their purses, and are now sensible of its source. I have too good an opinion of their love of order to believe that a removal of these troops would produce any irregular proofs of their disapprobation, but I am well assured it would be extremely odious to them.

To conclude. The separation of these troops would be a breach of public faith, therefore I suppose it is impossible; if they are removed to another State, it is the fault of the commissaries; if they are removed to any other part of the State, it is the fault of the commissaries; and in both cases, the public interest and public security suffer, the comfortable and plentiful subsistence of our own army is lessened, the health of the troops neglected, their wishes crossed, and their comforts torn from them, the character of whim and caprice, or, what is worse, of cruelty, fixed on us as a nation, and, to crown the whole, our own people disgusted with such a proceeding.

I have thus taken the liberty of representing to

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you the facts and the reasons, which seem to militate against the separation or removal of these troops. I am sensible, however, that the same subject may appear to different persons, in very different lights. What I have urged as reasons, may, to sounder minds, be apparent fallacies. I hope they will appear, at least, so plausible, as to excuse the interposition of

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

WILLIAMSBURG, June 23, 1779.

SIR,—I have the pleasure to enclose you the particulars of Colonel Clarke's success against St. Vincennes, as stated in his letter but lately received; the messenger, with his first letter, having been killed. I fear it will be impossible for Colonel Clarke to be so strengthened, as to enable him to do what he desires. Indeed, the express who brought this letter, gives us reason to fear St. Vincennes is in danger from a large body of Indians collected to attack it, and said, when he came from Kaskaskias, to be within thirty leagues of the place. I also enclose you a letter from Colonel Shelby, stating the effect of his success against the seceding Cherokees, and Chuccamogga. The damage done them, was killing half a dozen, burning eleven towns, twenty thousand bushels of corn, collected probably

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to forward the expeditions which were to have been planned at the council which was to meet Governor Hamilton at the mouth of the Tennessee, and taking as many goods as sold for twenty-five thousand pounds. I hope these two blows coming together, and the depriving them of their head, will, in some measure, effect the quiet of our frontiers this summer. We have intelligence, also, that Colonel Bowman, from Kentucky, is in the midst of the Shawnee country, with three hundred men, and hope to hear a good account of him. The enclosed order, being in its nature important, and generally interesting, I think it proper to transmit it to you, with the reasons supporting it.[1] It will add much

[1] TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

KASKASKIAS, ILLINOIS, April 29, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—A few days ago, I received certain intelligence of William Morris, my express to you, being killed near the falls of Ohio; news truly disagreeable to me, as I fear many of my letters will fall into the hands of the enemy, at Detroit, although some of them, as I learn, were found in the woods torn in pieces. I do not doubt but before the receipt of this, you will have heard of my late success against Governor Hamilton, at post St. Vincennes. That gentleman, with a body of men, possessed himself of that post on the 15th of December last, repaired the fortifications for a repository, and in the spring, meant to attack this place, which he made no doubt of carrying; where he was to be joined by two hundred Indians from Michilimackinac, and five hundred Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other nations. With this body, he was to penetrate up the Ohio to Fort Pitt, sweeping Kentucky on his way, having light brass cannon for the purpose, joined on his march by all the Indians that could be got to him. He made no doubt, that he could force all West Augusta. This expedition was ordered by the commander-in-chief of Canada. Destruction seemed to hover over us from every quarter; detached parties of the enemy were in the neighborhood every day, but afraid to attack. I ordered

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to our satisfaction, to know it meets your approbation.

Major Bowman to evacuate the fort at the Cohas, and join me immediately, which he did. Having not received a scrape of a pen from you, for near twelve months, I could see but little probability of keeping possession of the country, as my number of men was too small to stand a siege, and my situation too remote to call for assistance. I made all the preparations I possibly could for the attack, and was necessitated to set fire to some of the houses in town, to clear them out of the way. But in the height of the hurry, a Spanish merchant, who had been at St. Vincennes, arrived, and gave the following intelligence: that Mr. Hamilton had weakened himself, by sending his Indians against the frontiers, and to block up the Ohio; that he had not more than eighty men in garrison, three pieces of cannon, and some swivels mounted; and that he intended to attack this place, as soon as the winter opened, and made no doubt of clearing the western waters by the fall. My situation and circumstances induced me to fall on the resolution of attacking him, before he could collect his Indians again. I was sensible the resolution was as desperate as my situation, but I saw no other probability of securing the country. I immediately despatched a small galley, which I had fitted up, mounting two four pounders and four swivels, with a company of men and necessary stores on board, with orders to force her way, if possible, and station herself a few miles below the enemy, suffer nothing to pass her, and wait for further orders. In the meantime, I marched across the country with one hundred and thirty men, being all I could raise, after leaving this place garrisoned by the militia. The inhabitants of the country behaved exceedingly well, numbers of young men turned out on the expedition, and every other one embodied to guard the different towns. I marched the 7th of February. Although so small a body, it took me sixteen days on the route. The inclemency of the season, high waters, &c., seemed to threaten the loss of the expedition. When within three leagues of the enemy, in a direct line, it took us five days to cross the drowned lands of the Wabash river, having to wade often, upwards of two leagues, to our breast in water. Had not the weather been warm, we must have perished. But on the evening of the 23d, we got on dry land, in sight of the enemy; and at seven o'clock, made the attack, before they knew anything of us. The town immediately surrendered with joy, and assisted in the siege. There was a continual fire on both sides, for eighteen hours. I had no expectation of gaining

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I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of private respect and public gratitude,

Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

the fort until the arrival of my artillery. The moon setting about one o'clock, I had an entrenchment thrown up within rifle shot of their strongest battery, and poured such showers of well-directed balls into their ports, that we silenced two pieces of cannon in fifteen minutes, without getting a man hurt.

Governor Hamilton and myself had, on the following day, several conferences, but did not agree until the evening, when he agreed to surrender the garrison (seventy-nine in number) prisoners of war, with considerable stores. I got only one man wounded; not being able to lose many, I made them secure themselves well. Seven were badly wounded in the fort, through the ports. In the height of this action, an Indian party that had been to war, and taken two prisoners, came in, not knowing of us. Hearing of them, I despatched a party to give them battle in the commons, and got nine of them, with the two prisoners, who proved to be Frenchmen. Hearing of a convoy of goods from Detroit, I sent a party of sixty men, in armed boats well mounted with swivels, to meet them, before they could receive any intelligence. They met the convoy forty leagues up the river, and made a prize of the whole, taking forty prisoners and about ten thousand pounds worth of goods and provisions; also, the mail from Canada to Governor Hamilton, containing, however, no news of importance But what crowned the general joy, was the arrival of William Morris, my express to you, with your letters, which gave general satisfaction. The soldiery, being made sensible of the gratitude of their country for their services, were so much elated, that they would have attempted the reduction of Detroit, had I ordered them. Having more prisoners than I knew what to do with, I was obliged to discharge a greater part of them, on parole. Mr. Hamilton, his principal officers and a few soldiers, I have sent to Kentucky, under a convoy of Captain Williams, in order to be conducted to you. After despatching Morris with letters to you, treating with the neighboring Indians, &c., I returned to this place, leaving a sufficient garrison at St. Vincennes.

During my absence, Captain Robert George, who now commands the company formerly commanded by Captain Willing, had returned from New Orleans, which greatly added to our strength. It gave great satisfaction to the inhabitants, when acquainted with the protection which was given them, the alliance with France, &c. I am

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P. S.—The distance of our northern and western counties, from the scene of southern service, and the necessity of strengthening our western quarter,

impatient for the arrival of Colonel Montgomery, but have heard nothing of him lately. By your instructions to me, I find you put no confidence in General M'Intosh's taking Detroit, as you encourage me to attempt it, if possible. It had been twice in my power. Had I been able to raise only five hundred men when I first arrived in the country, or when I was at St. Vincennes, could I have secured my prisoners, and only have had three hundred good men, I should have attempted it, and since learn there could have been no doubt of success, as by some gentlemen lately from that post, we are informed that the town and country kept three days in feasting and diversions, on hearing of my success against Mr. Hamilton, and were so certain of my embracing the fair opportunity of possessing myself of that post, that the merchants and others provided many necessaries for us on our arrival; the garrison, consisting of only eighty men, not daring to stop their diversions. They are now completing a new fort, and I fear too strong for any force I shall ever be able to raise in this country. We are proud to hear Congress intends putting their forces on the frontiers, under your direction. A small army from Pittsburg, conducted with spirit, may easily take Detroit, and put an end to the Indian war. Those Indians who are active against us, are the six nations, part of the Shawnese, the Meamonies, and about half the Chesaweys, Ottawas, Jowaas, and Pottawatimas nations, bordering on the lakes. Those nations who have treated with me, have behaved since very well; to wit, the Peankishaws, Kiccapoos, Orcaottenans of the Wabash river, the Kaskias, Perrians, Mechigamies, Foxes, Socks, Opays, Illinois and Poues, nations of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers. Part of the Chesaweys have also treated, and are peaceable. I continually keep agents among them, to watch their motions and keep them peaceably inclined. Many of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and their confederates, are, I fear, ill disposed. It would be well if Colonel Montgomery should give them a dressing, as he comes down the Tennessee. There can be no peace expected from many nations, while the English are at Detroit. I strongly suspect they will turn their arms against the Illinois, as they will be encouraged. I shall always be on my guard, watching every opportunity to take the advantage of the enemy, and, if I am ever able to muster six or seven hundred men, I shall give them a shorter distance to come and fight me, than at this place.

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have induced the Council to direct the new levies from the counties of Yohogania, Ohio, Monongalia, Frederick, Hampshire, Berkeley, Rockingham, and

There is one circumstance very distressing, that of our moneys being discredited, to all intents and purposes, by the great number of traders who come here in my absence, each outbidding the other, giving prices unknown in this country by five hundred per cent., by which the people conceived it to be of no value, and both French and Spaniards refused to take a farthing of it. Provision is three times the price it was two months past, and to be got by no other means than my own bonds, goods, or force. Several merchants are now advancing considerable sums of their own property, rather than the service should suffer, by which I am sensible they must lose greatly, unless some method is taken to raise the credit of our coin, or a fund be sent to Orleans, for the payment of the expenses of this place, which would at once reduce the price of every species of provision; money being of little service to them, unless it would pass at the ports they trade at. I mentioned to you, my drawing some bills on Mr. Pollock in New Orleans, as I had no money with me. He would accept the bills, but had not money to pay them off, though the sums were trifling; so that we have little credit to expect from that quarter. I shall take every step I possibly can, for laying up a sufficient quantity of provisions, and hope you will immediately send me an express with your instructions. Public expenses in this country, have hitherto been very low, and may still continue so, if a correspondence is fixed at New Orleans for payment of expenses in this country, or gold and silver sent. I am glad to hear of Colonel Todd's appointment. I think government has taken the only step they could have done, to make this country flourish, and be of service to them. No other regulation would have suited the people. The last account I had of Colonel Rogers, was his being in New Orleans, with six of his men. The rest he left at the Spanish Ozack, above the Natches. I shall immediately send him some provisions, as I learn he is in great want. I doubt, he will not be able to get his goods up the river except in Spanish bottoms. One regiment would be able to clear the Mississippi, and do great damage to the British interests in Florida, and, by properly conducting themselves, might perhaps gain the affection of the people, so as to raise a sufficient force to give a shock to Pensacola. Our alliance with France has entirely devoted this people to our interest. I have sent several copies of the articles to Detroit, and do not doubt but they will produce the desired effect.

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Greenbrier, amounting to somewhat less than three hundred men, to enter into the ninth regiment at Pittsburg. The aid they may give there, will be

Your instructions I shall pay implicit regard to, and hope to conduct myself in such a manner as to do honor to my country.

I am, with the greatest respect, your humble servant,

G. R. CLARKE.

P. S. I understand there is a considerable quantity of cannon ball at Pittsburg. We are much in want of four and six pound ball. I hope you will immediately order some down.

IN COUNCIL, June 18, 1779.

The board proceeded to the consideration of the letters of Colonel Clarke, and other papers relating to Henry Hamilton, Esq., who has acted for some years past as Lieutenant Governor of the settlement at and about Detroit, and commandant of the British garrison there, under Sir Guy Carleton, as Governor-in-chief; Philip Dejean, justice of the peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe, captain of volunteers, prisoners of war, taken in the county of Illinois.

They find, that Governor Hamilton has executed the task of inciting the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties on the citizens of the United States, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, with an eagerness and avidity which evince, that the general nature of his charge harmonized with his particular disposition. They should have been satisfied, from the other testimony adduced, that these enormities were committed by savages acting under his commission; but the number of proclamations which, at different times, were left in houses, the inhabitants of which were killed or carried away by the Indians, one of which proclamations is in possession of the board, under the hand and seal of Governor Hamilton, puts this fact beyond a doubt. At the time of his captivity, it appears, he had sent considerable bodies of Indians against the frontier settlements of these States, and had actually appointed a great council of Indians, to meet him at Tennessee, to concert the operations of this present campaign. They find that his treatment of our citizens and soldiers, taken and carried within the limits of his command, has been cruel and inhuman; that in the case of John Dodge, a citizen of these States, which has been particularly stated to this board, he loaded him with irons, threw him

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so immediate and important, and what they could do to the southward, would be so late, as, I hope, will apologise for their interference.

T. J.

into a dungeon, without bedding, without straw, without fire, in the dead of winter and severe climate of Detroit; that, in that state, he wasted him with incessant expectations of death: that when the rigors of his situation had brought him so low, that death seemed likely to withdraw him from their power, he was taken out and somewhat attended to, until a little mended, and before he had recovered ability to walk, was again returned to his dungeon, in which a hole was cut, seven inches square only, for the admission of air, and the same load of irons again put on him: that appearing, a second time, in imminent danger of being lost to them, he was again taken from his dungeon, in which he had lain from January till June, with the intermission of a few weeks only, before mentioned. That Governor Hamilton gave standing rewards for scalps, but offered none for prisoners, which induced the Indians, after making their captives carry their baggage into the neighborhood of the fort, there to put them to death, and carry in their scalps to the Governor, who welcomed their return and success by a discharge of cannon. That when a prisoner, brought alive, and destined to death by the Indians, the fire already kindled, and himself bound to the stake, was dexterously withdrawn, and secreted from them by the humanity of a fellow prisoner, a large reward was offered for the discovery of the victim, which having tempted a servant to betray his concealment, the present prisoner Dejean, being sent with a party of soldiers, surrounded the house, took and threw into jail the unhappy victim and his deliverer, where the former soon expired under the perpetual assurances of Dejean, that he was to be again restored into the hands of the savages; and the latter, when enlarged, was bitterly reprimanded by Governor Hamilton.

It appears to them, that the prisoner Déjean was on all occasions the willing and cordial instrument of Governor Hamilton, acting both as judge and keeper of the jails, and instigating and urging him, by malicious insinuations and untruths, to increase, rather than relax his severities, heightening the cruelty of his orders by his manner of executing them; offering at one time a reward to one man to be hangman for another, threatening his life on refusal, and taking from his

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

WILLIAMSBURG, July 17, 1779.

SIR,—I some time ago, enclosed to you a printed copy of an order of Council, by which Governor

prisoners the little property their opportunities enabled them to acquire.

It appears that the prisoner Lamothe was a captain of the volunteer scalping parties of Indians and whites, who went, from time to time, under general orders to spare neither men, women, nor children. From this detail of circumstances, which arose in a few cases only, coming accidentally to the knowledge of the board, they think themselves authorized by fair deduction, to presume what would be the horrid history of the sufferings of the many who have expired under their miseries, (which, therefore, will remain forever untold,) or, who have escaped from them, and are yet too remote and too much dispersed, to bring together their well-founded accusations against the prisoners.

They have seen that the conduct of the British officers, civil and military, has in the whole course of this war been savage, and unprecedented among civilized nations; that our officers taken by them, have been confined in crowded jails, loathsome dungeons and prison ships, loaded with irons, supplied often with no food, generally with too little for the sustenance of nature, and that little sometimes unsound and unwholesome, whereby such numbers have perished, that captivity and death have with them been almost synonymous; that they have been transported beyond seas, where their fate is out of the reach of our inquiry, have been compelled to take arms against their country, and by a refinement in cruelty, to become murderers of their own brethren.

Their prisoners with us have, on the other hand, been treated with humanity and moderation; they have been fed, on all occasions, with wholesome and plentiful food, suffered to go at large within extensive tracts of country, treated with liberal hospitality, permitted to live in the families of our citizens, to labor for themselves, to acquire and enjoy profits, and finally to participate of the principal benefits of society, privileged from all burdens.

Reviewing this contrast, which cannot be denied by our enemies themselves, in a single point, and which has now been kept up during four years of unremitting war, a term long enough to produce well-

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Hamilton was to be confined in irons, in close jail, which has occasioned a letter from General Phillips, of which the enclosed is a copy. The General seems to think that a prisoner on capitulation, cannot be put in close confinement, though his capitulation should not have provided against it. My idea was, that all persons taken in war, were to be deemed prisoners of war. That those who surrender on capitulation (or convention) are prisoners of war also, subject to the same treatment with those who surrender at discretion, except only so far as the terms of their capitulation or convention shall have guarded them. In the capitulation of Governor Hamilton (a copy of which I enclose), no stipulation is made as to the treatment of himself, or those taken with him. The Governor, indeed, when he signs, adds a flourish of reasons inducing him to capitulate, one of which is the generosity of his enemy. Generosity, on a large and comprehensive

founded despair that our moderation may ever lead them to the practice of humanity; called on by that justice we owe to those who are fighting the battles of our country, to deal out, at length, miseries to their enemies, measure for measure, and to distress the feelings of mankind by exhibiting to them spectacles of severe retaliation, where we had long and vainly endeavored to introduce an emulation in kindness; happily possessed, by the fortune of war, of some of those very individuals who, having distinguished themselves personally in this line of cruel conduct, are fit subjects to begin on, with the work of retaliation; this board has resolved to advise the Governor, that the said Henry Hamilton, Philip Dejean and William Lamothe, prisoners of war, be put in irons, confined in the dungeons of the public jail, debarred the use of pen, ink and paper, and excluded all converse, except with their keeper. And the Governor orders accordingly.

ARCH: BLAIR, C. C.

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scale, seems to dictate the making a signal example of this gentleman; but waving that, these are the only private motives inducing him to surrender, and do not enter into the contract of Colonel Clarke. I have the highest idea of those contracts which take place between nation and nation, at war, and would be the last on earth to do anything in violation of them. I can find nothing in those books usually recurred to as testimonials of the law and usages of nature and nations, which convicts the opinions I have above expressed of error. Yet there may be such an usage as General Phillips seems to suppose, though not taken notice of by these writers. I am obliged to trouble your Excellency on this occasion, by asking of you information on this point. There is no other person, whose decision will so authoritatively decide this doubt in the public mind, and none with which I am disposed so implicitly to comply. If you shall be of opinion, that the bare existence of a capitulation, in the case of Governor Hamilton, privileges him from confinement, though there be no article to that effect in the capitulation, justice shall most assuredly be done him. The importance of this point, in a public view, and my own anxiety under a charge of violation of national faith by the Executive of this Commonwealth, will, I hope, apologise for my adding this to the many troubles with which I know you to be burdened. I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

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P. S. I have just received a letter from Colonel Bland, containing information of numerous desertions from the Convention troops, not less than four hundred in the last fortnight. He thinks he has reason to believe it is with the connivance of some of their officers. Some of these have been retaken, all of them going northwardly. They had provided themselves with forged passports, and with certificates of having taken the oath of fidelity to the State; some of them forged, others really given by weak magistrates. I give this information to your Excellency, as, perhaps, it may be in your power to have such of them intercepted as shall be passing through Pennsylvania and Jersey.

Your letter enclosing the opinion of the board of war in the case of Allison and Lee, has come safe to hand, after a long passage. It shall be answered by next post.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

WILLIAMSBURG, October 1, 1779.

SIR,—On receipt of your letter of August 6th, during my absence, the Council had the irons taken off the prisoners of war. When your advice was asked, we meant it should decide with us; and upon my return to Williamsburg, the matter was taken up and the enclosed advice given.[1] A parole was

[1] IN COUNCIL, September 29th, 1779.

The board having been, at no time, unmindful of the circumstances attending the confinement of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Captain

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formed, of which the enclosed is a copy, and tendered to the prisoners. They objected to that part of it, which restrained them from *saying* anything to the prejudice of the United States, and insisted on "freedom of speech." They were, in consequence, remanded to their confinement in the jail, which must be considered as a voluntary one, until they can determine with themselves to be inoffensive in word as well as deed. A flag sails hence to-

Lamothe and Philip Dejean, which the personal cruelties of those men, as well as the general conduct of the enemy, had constrained them to advise: wishing, and willing to expect, that their sufferings may lead them to the practice of humanity, should any future turn of fortune, in their favor, submit to their discretion the fate of their fellow-creatures; that it may prove an admonition to others, meditating like cruelties, not to rely for impunity in any circumstances of distance or present security; and that it may induce the enemy to reflect, what must be the painful consequences, should a continuation of the same conduct on their part, impel us again to severities, while such multiplied subjects of retaliation are within our power: sensible that no impression can be made on the event of the war, by wreaking vengeance on miserable captives; that the great cause which has animated the two nations against each other, is not to be decided by unmanly cruelties on wretches, who have bowed their necks to the power of the victor, but by the exercise of honorable valor in the field: earnestly hoping that the enemy, viewing the subject in the same light, will be content to abide the event of that mode of decision, and spare us the pain of a second departure from kindness to our captives: confident that commiseration to our prisoners is the only possible motive to which can be candidly ascribed, in the present actual circumstances of the war, the advice we are now about to give; the board does advise the Governor to send Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Captain Lamothe and Philip Dejean, to Hanover court-house, there to remain at large, within certain reasonable limits, taking the parole in the usual manner. The Governor orders accordingly. ARCH: BLAIR, C. C.

Ordered, that Major John Hay be sent, also, under parole, to the same place. ARCH: BLAIR, C. C.

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morrow to New York, to negotiate the exchange of some prisoners. By her, I have written to General Phillips on this subject, and enclosed to him copies of the within; intending it as an answer to a letter I received from him on the subject of Governor Hamilton. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

WILLIAMSBURG, Oct. 2, 1779.

SIR,—Just as the letter accompanying this was going off, Colonel Mathews arrived on parole from New York, by the way of head-quarters, bringing your Excellency's letter, on his subject, with that of the British commissary of prisoners. The subject is of great importance, and I must, therefore, reserve myself to answer after further consideration. Were I to speak from present impressions, I should say it was happy for Governor Hamilton, that a final determination of his fate was formed before this new information. As the enemy have released Captain Willing from his irons, the Executive of this State will be induced, perhaps, not to alter their former opinion. But it is impossible they can be serious in attempting to bully us in this manner. We have too many of their subjects in our power, and, too much iron to clothe them with, and I will add, too much resolution to avail ourselves of both, to fear their pretended retaliation. However, I will do myself the

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honor of forwarding to your Excellency the ultimate result of Council on this subject.

In consequence of the information in the letter from the British commissary of prisoners, that no officers of the Virginia line should be exchanged till Governor Hamilton's affair should be settled, we have stopped our flag, which was just hoisting anchor with a load of privates for New York. I must, therefore, ask the favor of your Excellency to forward the enclosed by flag, when an opportunity offers, as I suppose General Phillips will be in New York before it reaches you. I have the honor to be, Sir, with the greatest esteem,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

IN COUNCIL, Oct. 8, 1779.

SIR,—In mine of the second of the present month, written in the instant of Colonel Mathews' delivery of your letter, I informed you what had been done on the subject of Governor Hamilton and his companions, previous to that moment. I now enclose you an advice of Council,[1] in consequence of the

[1] IN COUNCIL, October 8th, 1779.

The Governor is advised to take proper and effectual measures for knowing, from time to time, the situation and treatment of our prisoners by the enemy, and to extend to theirs, with us, a like treatment, in every circumstance; and, also, to order to a proper station, the prison ship fitted up on recommendation from Congress, for the reception and confinement of such prisoners of war as shall be sent to it.

ARCH: BLAIR, C. C.

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letter you were pleased to enclose me, from the British commissary of prisoners, with one from Lord Rawdon; also a copy of my letter to Colonel Mathews, enclosing, also, the papers therein named. The advice of Council to allow the enlargement of prisoners, on their giving a proper parole, has not been recalled, nor will be, I suppose, unless something on the part of the enemy should render it necessary. I rather expect, however, that they will see it their interest to discontinue this kind of conduct. I am afraid I shall hereafter, perhaps, be obliged to give your Excellency some trouble in aiding me to obtain information of the future usage of our prisoners. I shall give immediate orders for having in readiness every engine which the enemy have contrived for the destruction of our unhappy citizens, captured by them. The presentiment of these operations is shocking beyond expression. I pray heaven to avert them; but nothing in this world will do it, but a proper conduct in the enemy. In every event, I shall resign myself to the hard necessity under which I shall act.

I have the honor to be, with great regard and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO COLONEL MATHEWS.

IN COUNCIL, October, 1779.

SIR,—The proceedings respecting Governor Hamilton and his companions, previous to your arrival

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here, you are acquainted with. For your more precise information, I enclose you the advice of Council, of June the 16th, of that of August the 28th, another of September the 19th, on the parole tendered them the 1st instant, and Governor Hamilton's letter of the same day, stating his objections, in which he persevered: from that time his confinement has become a voluntary one. You delivered us your letters the next day, when the post being just setting out, much business prevented the Council from taking them into consideration. They have this day attended to them, and found their resolution expressed in the enclosed advice, bearing date this day. It gives us great pain that any of our countrymen should be cut off from the society of their friends and tenderest connections, while it seems as if it was in our power to administer relief. But we trust to their good sense for discerning, and their spirit for bearing up against the fallacy of this appearance. Governor Hamilton and his companions were imprisoned and ironed, 1st. In retaliation for cruel treatment of our captive citizens by the enemy in general. 2d. For the barbarous species of warfare which himself and his savage allies carried on in our western frontier. 3d. For particular acts of barbarity, of which he himself was personally guilty, to some of our citizens in his power. Any one of these charges was sufficient to justify the measures we took. Of the truth of the first, yourselves are witnesses. Your situation, indeed, seems

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to have been better since you were sent to New York; but reflect on what you suffered before that, and knew others of your countrymen to suffer, and what you know is now suffered by that more unhappy part of them who are still confined on board the prison ships of the enemy. Proofs of the second charge, we have under Hamilton's own hand; and of the third, as sacred assurances as human testimony is capable of giving. Humane conduct on our part was found to produce no effect; the contrary, therefore, was to be tried. If it produces a proper lenity to our citizens in captivity, it will have the effect we meant; if it does not, we shall return a severity as terrible as universal. If the causes of our rigor against Hamilton were founded in truth, that rigor was just, and would not give right to the enemy to commence any new hostilities on their part; and all such new severities are to be considered, not as retaliation, but as original and unprovoked. If those causes were not founded in truth, they should have denied them. If, declining the tribunal of truth and reason, they choose to pervert this into a contest of cruelty and destruction, we will contend with them in that line, and measure out misery to those in our power, in that multiplied proportion which the advantage of superior numbers enables us to do. We shall think it our particular duty, after the information we gather from the papers which have been laid before us, to pay very constant attention to your situation and that of your fellow prisoners. We hope that the

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prudence of the enemy will be your protection from injury; and we are assured that your regard for the honor of your country, would not permit you to wish we should suffer ourselves to be bullied into an acquiescence, under every insult and cruelty they may choose to practice, and a fear to retaliate, lest you should be made to experience additional sufferings. Their officers and soldiers, in our hands are pledges for your safety: we are determined to use them as such. Iron will be retaliated by iron, but a great multiplication on distinguished objects: prison ships by prison ships, and like for like in general. I do not mean by this to cover any officer who has acted, or shall act improperly. They say Captain Willing was guilty of great cruelties at the Natches; if so, they do right in punishing him. I would use any powers I have, for the punishment of any officer of our own, who should be guilty of excesses unjustifiable under the usages of civilized nations. However, I do not find myself obliged to believe the charge against Captain Willing to be true, on the affirmation of the British commissary, because, in the next breath, he affirms no cruelties have as yet been inflicted on him. Captain Willing has been in irons.

I beg you to be assured, there is nothing, consistent with the honor of your country, which we shall not, at all times, be ready to do for the relief of yourself and companions in captivity. We know that ardent spirit and hatred for tyranny, which brought you into your present situation, will enable you to

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bear up against it with the firmness which has distinguished you as a soldier, and to look forward with pleasure to the day, when events shall take place, against which, the wounded spirits of your enemies will find no comfort, even from reflections on the most refined of the cruelties with which they have glutted themselves.

I am, with great respect, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

WILLIAMSBURG, November 28th, 1779.

SIR,—Your Excellency's letter on the discriminations which have been heretofore made, between the troops raised within this State, and considered as part of our quota, and those not so considered, was delivered me four days ago. I immediately laid it before the Assembly, who thereupon came to the resolution I now do myself the honor of enclosing you. The resolution of Congress, of March 15th, 1779, which you were so kind as to enclose, was never known in this State till a few weeks ago, when we received printed copies of the Journals of Congress. It would be a great satisfaction to us, to receive an exact return of all the men we have in Continental service, who come within the description of the resolution, together with our State troops in Continental service. Colonel Cabell was so kind as to send me a return of the Continental regiments commanded by

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Lord Sterling, of the first and second Virginia State regiments, and of Colonel Gist's regiment. Besides these are the following; viz., Colonel Harrison's regiment of artillery, Colonel Bayler's horse, Colonel Bland's horse, General Scott's new levies, part of which are gone to Carolina, and part are here, Colonel Gibson's regiment stationed on the Ohio, Heath and O'Hara's independent companies at the same stations, Colonel Taylor's regiment of guards to the Convention troops: of these, we have a return. There may, possibly, be others not occurring to me. A return of all these would enable us to see what proportion of the Continental army is contributed by us. We have, at present, very pressing calls to send additional numbers of men to the southward. No inclination is wanting in either the Legislature or Executive, to aid them or strengthen you; but we find it very difficult to procure men. I herewith transmit to your Excellency some recruiting commissions, to be put into such hands as you may think proper, for re-enlisting such of our soldiery as are not already engaged for the war. The Act of Assembly, authorizing these instructions, requires that the men enlisted should be reviewed and received by an officer to be appointed for that purpose; a caution less necessary in the case of men now actually in service, and, therefore, doubtless, able bodied, than in the raising new recruits. The direction, however, goes to all cases, and, therefore, we must trouble your Excellency with the appointment of one or

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more officers of review. Mr. Moss, our agent, receives orders, which accompany this, to pay the bounty money and recruiting money, and to deliver the clothing. We have, however, certain reason to fear he has not any great sum of money on hand; and it is absolutely out of our power, at this time, to supply him, or to say, with certainty, when we shall be able to do it. He is instructed to note his acceptances under the draughts, and to assure payment as soon as we shall have it in our power to furnish him, as the only substitute for money. Your Excellency's directions to the officer of review, will probably procure us the satisfaction of being informed, from time to time, how many men shall be re-enlisted.

By Colonel Mathews, I informed your Excellency fully of the situation of Governor Hamilton and his companions. Lamothe and Dejean have given their paroles, and are at Hanover Court-House: Hamilton, Hay, and others, are still obstinate; therefore, still in close confinement, though their irons have never been on, since your second letter on the subject. I wrote full information of this matter to General Phillips also, from whom I had received letters on the subject. I cannot, in reason, believe that the enemy, on receiving this information, either from yourself or General Phillips, will venture to impose any new cruelties on our officers in captivity with them. Yet their conduct, hitherto, has been most successfully prognosticated by reversing the conclusions of right reason. It is, therefore, my duty, as well as it was

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my promise to the Virginia captives, to take measures for discovering any change which may be made in their situation. For this purpose, I must apply for your Excellency's interposition. I doubt not but you have an established mode of knowing, at all times, through your commissary of prisoners, the precise state of those in the power of the enemy. I must, therefore, pray you to put into motions, any such means you have, for obtaining knowledge of the situation of the Virginia officers in captivity. If you should think proper, as I could wish, to take upon yourself to retaliate any new sufferings which may be imposed on them, it will be more likely to have due weight, and to restore the unhappy on both sides, to that benevolent treatment for which all should wish.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

WILLIAMSBURG, December 10, 1779.

SIR,—I take the liberty of putting under cover to your Excellency, some letters to Generals Phillips and Reidezel, uninformed whether they are gone into New York or not, and knowing that you can best forward them in either case.

I also trouble you with a letter from the master of the flag in this State, to the British commissary of prisoners in New York, trusting it will thus be more certainly conveyed than if sent to Mr. Adams. It is my wish that the British commissary should return

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his answer through your Excellency, or your commissary of prisoners, and that they should not propose, under this pretext, to send another flag, as the mission of the present flag is not unattended with circumstances of suspicion; and a certain information of the situation of ourselves and our allies here, might influence the measures of the enemy.

Perhaps your commissary of prisoners can effect the former method of answer.

I enclose to you part of an Act of Assembly ascertaining the quantity of land which shall be allowed to the officers and soldiers at the close of the war, and providing means of keeping that country vacant which has been allotted for them.

I am advised to ask your Excellency's attention to the case of Colonel Bland, late commander of the barracks in Albemarle. When that gentleman was appointed to that command, he attended the Executive here, and informed them, he must either decline it, or be supported in such a way as would keep up that respect which was essential to his command; without, at the same time, ruining his private fortune.

The Executive were sensible he would be exposed to great and unavoidable expense: they observed, his command would be in a department separate from any other, and that he actually relieved a Major General from the same service. They did not think themselves authorized to say what should be done in this case, but undertook to represent the matter to Congress, and, in the meantime, gave it as their

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opinion that he ought to be allowed a decent table. On this he undertook the office, and in the course of it incurred expenses which seemed to have been unavoidable, unless he would have lived in such a way as is hardly reconcilable to the spirit of an officer, or the reputation of those in whose service he is. Governor Henry wrote on the subject to Congress; Colonel Bland did the same; but we learn they have concluded the allowance to be unprecedented, and inadmissible in the case of an officer of his rank. The commissaries, on this, have called on Colonel Bland for reimbursement. A sale of his estate was about to take place, when we undertook to recommend to them to suspend their demand, till we could ask the favor of you to advocate this matter so far with Congress, as you may think it right; otherwise the ruin of a very worthy officer must inevitably follow.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

WILLIAMSBURG, February 10, 1780.

SIR,—It is possible you may have heard, that in the course of last summer an expedition was meditated, by our Colonel Clarke, against Detroit: that he had proceeded so far as to rendezvous a considerable body of Indians, I believe four or five thousand,

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at St. Vincennes; but, being disappointed in the number of whites he expected, and not choosing to rely principally on the Indians, he was obliged to decline it. We have a tolerable prospect of reinforcing him this spring, to the number which he thinks sufficient for the enterprise. We have informed him of this, and left him to decide between this object, and that of giving vigorous chastisement to those tribes of Indians, whose eternal hostilities have proved them incapable of living on friendly terms with us. It is our opinion, his inclination will lead him to determine on the former. The reason of my laying before your Excellency this matter, is, that it has been intimated to me that Colonel Broadhead is meditating a similar expedition. I wished, therefore, to make you acquainted with what we had in contemplation. The enterprising and energetic genius of Clarke is not altogether unknown to you. You also know (what I am a stranger to) the abilities of Broadhead, and the particular force with which you will be able to arm him for such an expedition. We wish the most hopeful means should be used for removing so uneasy a thorn from our side. As yourself, alone, are acquainted with all the circumstances necessary for well-informed decision, I am to ask the favor of your Excellency, if you should think Broadhead's undertaking it most likely to produce success, that you will be so kind as to intimate to us to divert Clarke to the other object, which is also important to this State. It will, of course, have weight with you, in forming

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your determination, that our prospect of strengthening Clarke's hands, sufficiently, is not absolutely certain. It may be necessary, perhaps, to inform you, that these two officers cannot act together, which excludes the hopes of ensuring success by a joint expedition.

I have the honor to be, with the most sincere esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO GENERAL DE RIEDESEL.[1]

RICHMOND, May 3, 1780.

SIR,—Your several favors of December 4th, February 10th, and March 30th, are come duly to hand. I sincerely condole with Madame de Riedesel on the birth of a *daughter*, but receive great pleasure from the information of her recovery, as every circumstance of felicity to her, yourself or family, is interesting to us. The little attentions you are pleased to magnify so much, never deserved a mention or thought. My mortification was, that the

[1 General de Riedesel, who commanded the Hessian troops, was among the prisoners removed to Albemarle, in 1779, after the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga. Mr. Jefferson did everything in his power to render the situation of these prisoners comfortable, and the educated and refined officers were often his guests. Among the number was General de Riedesel, who seems to have entertained a grateful sense of the kindness extended to him. The example of Mr. Jefferson was followed by most of the wealthy gentlemen of the surrounding country; the officers, both English and German, have borne testimony to the polite and hospitable attentions which they received in Virginia.] —ED.

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peculiar situation in which we were, put it out of our power to render your stay here more comfortable. I am sorry to learn that the negotiations for the exchange of prisoners have proved abortive, as well from a desire to see the necessary distresses of war alleviated in every possible instance, as that I am sensible how far yourself and family are interested in it. Against this, however, is to be weighed the possibility that we may again have a pleasure we should otherwise, perhaps, never have had; that of seeing you again. Be this as it may, opposed as we happen to be in our sentiments of duty and honor, and anxious for contrary events, I shall, nevertheless, sincerely rejoice in every circumstance of happiness or safety, which may attend you personally; and when a termination of the present contest shall put it in my power to declare to you more unreservedly, how sincere are the sentiments of esteem and respect (wherein Mrs. Jefferson joins me) which I entertain for Madame de Riedesel and yourself, and with which I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, June 11, 1780.

SIR,—Major Galvan, as recommended by your Excellency, was dispatched to his station without delay, and has been furnished with everything he desired, as far as we were able. The line of expresses

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formed between us, is such as will communicate intelligence from one to the other in twenty-three hours. I have forwarded to him information of our disasters in the South, as they have come to me.

Our intelligence from the southward is most lamentably defective. Though Charleston has been in the hands of the enemy a month, we hear nothing of their movements which can be relied on. Rumors are, that they are penetrating northward. To remedy this defect, I shall immediately establish a line of expresses from hence to the neighborhood of their army, and send thither a sensible, judicious person, to give us information of their movements. This intelligence will, I hope, be conveyed to us at the rate of one hundred and twenty miles in the twenty-four hours. They set out to their stations to-morrow. I wish it were possible, that a like speedy line of communication could be formed from hence to your Excellency's head-quarters. Perfect and speedy information of what is passing in the South, might put it in your power, perhaps, to frame your measures by theirs. There is really nothing to oppose the progress of the enemy, northward, but the cautious principles of the military art. North Carolina is without arms. We do not abound. Those we have, are freely imparted to them, but such is the state of their resources, that they have not been able to move a single musket from this State to theirs. All the wagons we can collect, have been furnished to the Marquis de Kalb, and are assembled for the

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march of twenty-five hundred men, under General Stevens, of Culpeper, who will move on the 10th instant. I have written to Congress to hasten supplies of arms and military stores for the Southern States, and particularly to aid us with cartridge-paper and boxes, the want of which articles, small as they are, renders our stores useless. The want of money cramps every effort. This will be supplied by the most unpalatable of all substitutes, force. Your Excellency will readily conceive, that, after the loss of one army, our eyes are turned towards the other, and that we comfort ourselves, if any aids can be furnished by you, without defeating the operations more beneficial to the general union, they will be furnished. At the same time, I am happy to find that the wishes of the people go no further, as far as I have an opportunity of learning their sentiments. Could arms be furnished, I think this State and North Carolina would embody from ten to fifteen thousand militia, immediately, and more if necessary.

I hope, ere long, to be able to give you a more certain statement of the enemy's as well as our situation, which I shall not fail to do. I enclose you a letter from Major Galvan, being the second I have forwarded to you.

With sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, I have the honor to be your Excellency's

Most obedient humble servant.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, July 2, 1780.

SIR,—I have received from the Committee of Congress, at head-quarters, three letters calling for aids of men and provisions. I beg leave to refer you to my letter to them, of this date, on those subjects. I thought it necessary, however, to suggest to you the preparing an arrangement of officers for the men; for, though they are to supply our battalions, yet, as our whole line officers, almost, are in captivity, I suppose some temporary provision must be made. We cheerfully transfer to you every power which the Executive might exercise on this occasion. As it is possible you may cast your eye on the unemployed officers now within the State, I write to General Muhlenburg, to send you a return of them. I think the men will be rendezvoused within the present month. The bill, indeed, for raising them is not actually passed, but it is in its last stage, and no opposition to any essential parts of it. I will take care to notify you of its passage.

I have, with great pain, perceived your situation; and, the more so, as, being situated between two fires, a division of sentiment has arisen, both in Congress and here, as to which the resources of this country should be sent. The removal of General Clinton to the northward, must, of course, have great influence on the determination of this question; and I have no doubt but considerable aids may be

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drawn hence, for your army, unless a larger one should be embodied in the South, than the force of the enemy there seems to call for. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient humble servant.[1]

TO GENERAL EDWARD STEVENS.

RICHMOND, August 4, 1780.

SIR,—Your several favors of July the 16th, 21st, and 22d, are now before me. Our smiths are engaged in making five hundred axes and some tomahawks for General Gates. About one hundred of these will go by the wagons now taking in their loads. As these

[1] [The following memorandum is inserted in the MS. at the close of this letter.]

FEMALE CONTRIBUTIONS, IN AID OF THE WAR, PROBABLY IN 1780.

Mrs. Sarah Cary, of Scotchtown, a watch-chain, cost £7 sterling.
Mrs. ——— Ambler, five gold rings.
Mrs. Rebecca Ambler, three gold rings.
Mrs. ——— Nicholas, a diamond drop.
Mrs. Griffin, of Dover, ten half joes.
Mrs. Gilmer, five guineas.
Mrs. Anne Ramsay (for Fairfax), one half joe, three guineas, three pistareens, one bit.
Do. for do. paper money, bundle No. 1, twenty thousand dollars, No. 2, twenty-seven thousand dollars, No. 3, fifteen thousand dollars, No. 4, thirteen-thousand five hundred and eighteen dollars and one-third.
Mrs. Lewis (for Albemarle), £1559 8s. paper money.
Mrs. Weldon, £39 18s. new, instead of £1600 old paper money.
Mrs. Blackburn (for Prince William), seven thousand five hundred and six dollars, paper money.
Mrs. Randolph, the younger, of Chatsworth, eight hundred dollars.
Mrs. Fitzhugh and others, £558.

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are for the army in general, no doubt but you will participate of them. A chest of medicine was made up for you in Williamsburg, and by a strange kind of forgetfulness, the vessel ordered to bring that, left it and brought the rest of the shop. It is sent for again, and I am not without hopes will be here in time to go by the present wagons. They will carry some ammunition and the axes, and will make up their load with spirits. Tents, I fear, cannot be got in this country; we have, however, sent out powers to all the trading towns here, to take it wherever they can find it. I write to General Gates, to try whether the duck in North Carolina cannot be procured by the Executive of that State on Continental account; for, surely, the whole army, as well our militia as the rest, is Continental. The arms you have to spare may be delivered to General Gates's order, taking and furnishing us with proper vouchers. We shall endeavor to send our drafts armed. I cannot conceive how the arms before sent could have got into so very bad order; they certainly went from hence in good condition. You wish to know how far the property of this State, in your hands, is meant to be subject to the orders of the Commander-in-chief. Arms and military stores, we mean to be perfectly subject to him. The provisions going from this country will be for the whole army. If we can get any tents, they must be appropriated to the use of our own troops. Medicine, sick stores, spirits and such things, we expect shall

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be on the same footing as with the northern army. There, you know, each State furnishes its own troops with these articles, and, of course, has an exclusive right to what is furnished. The money put into your hands, was meant as a particular resource for any extra wants of our own troops, yet, in case of great distress, you would probably not see the others suffer without communicating part of it for their use. We debit Congress with this whole sum. There can be nothing but what is right in your paying Major Mazaret's troops out of it. I wish the plan you have adopted for securing a return of the arms from the militia, may answer. I apprehend any man who has a good gun on his shoulder, would agree to keep it, and have the worth of it deducted out of his pay, more especially, when the receipt of the pay is at some distance. What would you think of notifying to them, further, that a proper certificate that they are discharged, and have *returned their arms*, will be required before any pay is issued to them. A roll, kept and forwarded, of those so discharged, and who have delivered up their arms, would supply accidental losses of their certificates. We are endeavoring to get bayonet belts made. The State quarter-master affirms the cartouch boxes sent from this place (nine hundred and fifty-nine in number), were all in good condition. I therefore suppose the three hundred you received in such very bad order, must have gone from the Continental quarter-master at Petersburg, or, per-

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haps, have been pillaged, on the road, of their flaps, to mend shoes, &c. I must still press the return of as many wagons as possible. All you will send, shall be loaded with spirits, or something else for the army. By their next return, we shall have a good deal of bacon collected. The enclosed is a copy of what was reported to me, as heretofore sent by the wagons. I am, Sir, with the greatest esteem,

Your most obedient humble servant.

TO ———.[1]

RICHMOND, August 4, 1780.

SIR,—Your several favors of July 19, 21, and 22, are now before me. I have enquired into the state of the cartouch boxes which were sent from our magazine. The Quartermaster assures me they were in very good order. I must, therefore, conclude, that the 300 complained of by General Stevens, were some sent from Petersburg by the Continental Quartermaster, or that they were pillaged of the leather on the way, to mend shoes, &c. We had hopes of getting 2,000 from the Board of War, but we got only about 600, and they are said to be unfit for use. We are engaged in making bayonet belts, which shall be forwarded, but it is

[1 This letter has no direction, but was probably addressed to General Gates, then commanding the Southern army. It was written by Mr. Jefferson in his character of Governor of Virginia, to which office he was elected on the 1st of June, 1779.—ED.]

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extremely difficult to procure leather. The consumption of beef by your army will, I hope, remove the want of this article another year. I have ordered the 500 axes you desired, with some tomahawks, to be made. They turn out about 20 a day. About 100 will go on by the wagons General Stevens sent us, which are now loading at this place. These wagons will carry some ammunition and spirit. A vessel with about 3,000 stand of arms, coming down the bay for the use of your army, was driven by privateers into Wicomico. We are endeavoring to get them forwarded either by land or water. The want of wagons will greatly retard them. What is to be done for tents, I know not. I am assured that very little duck can be got in this country. Whatever there is, however, will be produced under a commission gone out for that purpose. The duck you speak of as being in North Carolina, cannot be procured by that State, on Continental account, for the use of the army. I communicated your orders to Colonel Finnie, and to Colonel Buford, and have directed proper applications for the repairs of the bridges, &c., you mention. Arms are ready for Buford's, Davies's, and Gibson's men. Gibson's men are clothed, and wait only to be paid, which will be done within the course of a week. Clothing has been issued some time for the others, which is making up under the superintendence of Colonel Davies. They are utterly destitute of blankets, and I fear we shall be unable to get any. Brent's

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infantry are but 30, and cannot be sent on without bringing on disagreeable disputes about rank between his officers and Gibson's. To silence these, the march of his men has been countermanded. Colonel Finnie informs me, that Major Lee's infantry has been sent back by special orders. We have ordered 243 horses to be purchased for Colonels White and Washington. The orders to Mr. Lewis to purchase beef in Carolina were given by the Continental Commissary, so long ago as last winter, when it was not foreseen there would be such a call for it in that country. Having no other means of conveying a letter to him, I take the liberty of putting one under cover to you, with instructions to him to discontinue his purchases in North Carolina, and to furnish you with so much of the beef he has, as you may think necessary. It would be expedient for you to leave in his hands whatever quantity is not absolutely necessary for your army; as, depending on that, no other provision has been made for the post at Charlottesville, and you know our country so well as to foresee that a port, at which 5,000 rations a day are issued, cannot be fed by the purchase of the day.

We have reason to believe the French fleet arrived at Newport the 10th ult., but it is not certain. Admiral Graves, with six sail of the line, is certainly arrived at New York.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

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TO MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

RICHMOND, August 15, 1780.

SIR,—Your favor of August the 3d, is just now put into my hand. Those formerly received have been duly answered, and my replies will, no doubt, have reached you before this date. My last letter to you was by Colonel Drayton.

I spoke fully with you on the difficulty of procuring wagons here, when I had the pleasure of seeing you, and for that reason pressed the sending back as many as possible. One brigade of twelve has since returned, and is again on its way with medicine, military stores, and spirit. Any others which come, and as fast as they come, shall be returned to you with spirit and bacon. I have ever been informed, that the very plentiful harvests of North Carolina, would render the transportation of flour from this State as unnecessary as it would be tedious, and that, in this point of view, the wagons should carry hence only the articles before mentioned, which are equally wanting with you. Finding that no great number of wagons is likely to return to us, we will immediately order as many more to be bought and sent on, as we possibly can. But, to prevent too great expectations, I must again repeat, that I fear no great number can be got. I do assure you, however, that neither attention nor expense shall be spared, to forward to you every support for which we can obtain means of trans-

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portation. You have, probably, received our order on Colonel Lewis, to deliver you any of the beeves he may have purchased.

Tents, I fear, it is in vain to expect, because there is not in this country stuff to make them. We have agents and commissioners in constant pursuit of stuff, but hitherto researches have been fruitless. Your order to Colonel Carrington shall be immediately communicated. A hundred copies of the proclamation shall also be immediately printed and forwarded to you. General Muhlenburg is come to this place, which he will now make his head-quarters. I think he will be able to set into motion, within a very few days, five hundred regulars, who are now equipped for their march, except some blankets still wanting, but I hope nearly procured and ready to be delivered.

I sincerely congratulate you on your successful advances on the enemy, and wish to do everything to second your enterprises, which the situation of this country, and the means and powers put into my hands, enable me to do.

I am, Sir, with sincere respect and esteem,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, September 3, 1780.

SIR,—As I know the anxieties you must have felt, since the late misfortune to the South, and our latter

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accounts have not been quite so favorable as the first, I take the liberty of enclosing you a statement of this unlucky affair, taken from letters from General Gates, General Stevens, and Governor Nash, and, as to some circumstances, from an officer who was in the action.[1] Another army is collecting; this amounted, on the 23d ultimo, to between four and five thousand men, consisting of about five hundred Maryland regulars, a few of Hamilton's artillery, and Portersfield corps, Armand's legion, such of the Virginia militia as had been reclaimed, and about three thousand North Carolina militia, newly embodied. We are told they will increase these to eight thousand. Our new recruits will rendezvous in this State between the 10th and 25th instant. We are calling out two thousand militia, who, I think, however, will not be got to Hillsborough till the 25th of October. About three hundred and fifty regulars marched from Chesterfield a week ago. Fifty march to-morrow, and there will be one hundred or one hundred and fifty more from that post, when they can be cleared of the hospital. This is as good a view as I can give you of the force we are endeavoring to collect; but they are unarmed. Almost the whole small arms seems to have been lost in the late rout. There are of arms, sent by Congress, and we have still a few

[1 The circumstances of the defeat of General Gates's army, near Camden, in August, 1780, being of historical notoriety, this statement is omitted.]

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here, on their way southward, three thousand stand in our magazine. I have written pressingly, as the subject well deserves, to Congress, to send immediate supplies, and to think of forming a magazine here, that in case of another disaster, we may not be left without all means of opposition.

I enclosed to your Excellency, some time ago, a resolution of the Assembly, instructing us to send a quantity of tobacco to New York for the relief of our officers there, and asking the favor of you to obtain permission. Having received no answer, I fear my letter or your answer has miscarried. I therefore take the liberty of repeating my application to you.

I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO EDWARD STEVENS.

RICHMOND, September 3, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—I sincerely condole with you on our late misfortune,[1] which sits the heavier on my mind as being produced by my own countrymen. Instead of considering what is past, however, we are to look forward and prepare for the future. I write General Gates and Governor Nash as to supplies and reinforcements. Another body of 2,000 militia are ordered to you to rendezvous at Hillsborough, on

[1 Battle of Camden, August 16th, 1780.]

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the 25th of October. They come from the middle and north counties, beyond and adjoining the Blue Ridge. I am told, also, that a spirit of raising volunteers is springing up. The truth of this, however, is not certainly known, nor can its success be depended on. Governor Nash writes me that 400 wagons were lost. An officer here, however, thinks they are not. This, indeed, would be a heavy loss, as well as that of the small arms. We shall exert every nerve to assist you in every way in our power, being, as we are, without any money in the Treasury, or any prospect of more till the Assembly meets in October.

I am with great esteem your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO THE HON. MAJOR GENERAL GATES.

RICHMOND, September 11, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—Your bill for £54,712 in favor of Mallette, has been duly honored, that for £95,288 we shall also discharge; another bill (which being delivered back to be presented at the end of the ten days, I cannot recollect either the name of the holder or the sum) has been accepted. We are now without one shilling in the treasury, or a possibility of having it recruited till the meeting of the Assembly, which takes place on the 15th of the next month. In this condition Mr. Duncan Ochiltree found us when he delivered your letter of the 5th

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instant, and draught for £100,000 in favor of Col. Polk. The only thing in our power, after stating to him our situation, was to assure him that it should be paid as soon as we should be enabled to do it by the Assembly, which I flatter myself will be as soon as they meet. Of this I am to notify him, that he may know when to call for payment. I shall be very glad if you can accommodate, to the same circumstances, any other draughts you may find it necessary to make on me.

We have sent a Mr. Paton, Commissary for the State, to collect beeves in our southern counties, and forward them to your army. He has orders to keep up a proper correspondence with your Commissary.

I have the honor to be with the greatest esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO GENERAL EDWARD STEVENS.

RICHMOND, September 12, 1780.

SIR,—Your letters of August 27th and 30th are now before me. The subsequent desertions of your militia have taken away the necessity of answering the question, How they shall be armed? On the contrary, as there must now be a surplus of arms, I am in hopes you will endeavor to reserve them, as we have not here a sufficient number by fifteen hundred or two thousand for the men who will march hence, if they march in numbers equal to our expectations.

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I have sent expresses into all the counties from which those militia went, requiring the county lieutenants to exert themselves in taking them; and such is the detestation with which they have been received, that I have heard from many counties they were going back of themselves. You will, of course, hold courts martial on them, and make them soldiers for eight months. If you will be so good as to inform me, from time to time, how many you have, we may, perhaps, get the supernumerary officers in the State to take command of them. By the same opportunities, I desired notice to be given to the friends of the few remaining with you, that they had lost their clothes and blankets, and recommended that they should avail themselves of any good opportunity to send them supplies.

We approve of your accommodating the hospital with medicines, and the Maryland troops with spirits. They really deserve the whole, and I wish we had means of transportation for much greater quantities, which we have on hand and cannot convey. This article we could furnish plentifully to you and them. What is to be done for wagons, I do not know. We have not now one shilling in the treasury to purchase them. We have ordered an active quarter-master to go to the westward, and endeavor to purchase on credit, or impress a hundred wagons and teams. But I really see no prospect of sending you additional supplies, till the same wagons return from you, which we sent on with the last. I informed you, in my last

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letter, we had ordered two thousand militia more, to rendezvous at Hillsborough on the 25th of October. You will judge yourself, whether, in the meantime, you can be more useful by remaining where you are, with the few militia left and coming in, or by returning home, where, besides again accommodating yourself after your losses, you may also aid us in getting those men into motion, and in pointing out such things as are within our power, and may be useful to the service. And you will act accordingly. I am, with great friendship and esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant.

TO GENERAL EDWARD STEVENS.

RICHMOND, Sept. 15th, 1780.

SIR,—I beg leave to trouble you with a private letter, on a little matter of my own, having no acquaintance at camp, with whom I can take that liberty. Among the wagons impressed, for the use of your militia, were two of mine. One of these, I know is safe, having been on its way from hence to Hillsborough, at the time of the late engagement. The other, I have reason to believe, was on the field. A wagon master, who says he was near it, informs me the brigade quarter-master cut out one of my best horses, and made his escape on him, and that he saw my wagoner loosening his own horse to come off, but the enemy's horse were then coming up, and he knows nothing further. He was a negro man,

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named Phill, lame in one arm and leg. If you will do me the favor to enquire what has become of him, what horses are saved, and to send them to me, I shall be much obliged to you. The horses were not public property, as they were only impressed and not sold. Perhaps your certificate of what is lost, may be necessary for me. The wagon master told me, that the public money was in my wagon, a circumstance which, perhaps, may aid your enquiries. After apologising for the trouble, I beg leave to assure you that I am, with great sincerity,

Your friend and servant.

TO MAJOR GENERAL GATES.

RICHMOND, September 23, 1780.

SIR,—I have empowered Colonel Carrington to have twelve boats, scows or batteaux, built at Taylor's Ferry, and to draw on me for the cost. I recommended the constructing them so as to answer the transportation of provisions along that river, as a change of position of the two armies, may render them unnecessary at Taylor's ferry; and I am thoroughly persuaded, that, unless we can find out some channel of transportation by water, no supplies of bread, of any consequence, can be sent you from this State for a long time to come. The want of wagons is a bar insuperable, at least, in any reasonable time. I have given orders to have Fry and Jefferson's map, and Henry's map of Virginia, sought for and pur-

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chased. As soon as they can be got, I will forward them. I have also written to General Washington on the subject of wintering the French fleet in the Chesapeake. Our new levies rendezvous in large numbers. As General Washington had constituted them into eight battalions, and allotted none to Colonel Harrison, we think to deliver him about four hundred drafts of another kind, who are to serve eighteen months also. Unless Congress furnish small arms, we cannot arm more than half the men who will go from this State. The prize you mention of tents and blankets is very fortunate. It is absolutely out of our power to get these articles, to any amount, in this country, nor have we clothing for our new levies. They must, therefore, go to you clothed as militia, till we can procure and send on supplies. They will be as warm in their present clothing at Hillsborough, as at Chesterfield Court House.

We have an agent, collecting all the beeves which can be got from the counties round about Portsmouth, to send off to you. They have there also plentiful crops of corn growing. We have instructed him to try whether means of conveying it down into the Sounds, and up some of the rivers of North Carolina, or by land to Meherrin river, and thence down Chowan, and up Roanoke, cannot be rendered practicable.

I am, with every sentiment of esteem and respect, your most obedient and most humble servant.

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P. S. I enclose a certificate, acknowledging satisfaction for the money furnished by Colonel Kosciusko.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, September 23, 1780.

SIR,—I yesterday forwarded to you a letter from Colonel Wood, informing you of his situation. That post has, for some time past, been pretty regularly supplied, and I hope will continue to be for some time to come. A person, whose punctuality can be relied on, offers to contract for victualling it. If we can agree on terms, and the Assembly will strengthen our hands sufficiently, we think to adopt that method, as the only one to be relied on with certainty. I have heard it hinted that Colonel Wood thinks of quitting that post. I should be exceedingly sorry, indeed, were he to do it. He has given to those under his charge the most perfect satisfaction, and, at the same time, used all the cautions which the nature of his charge has required. It is principally owing to his prudence and good temper, that the late difficulties have been passed over, almost without a murmur. Any influence which your Excellency shall think proper to use, for retaining him in his present situation, will promote the public good, and have a great tendency to keep up a desirable harmony with the officers of that corps. Our new recruits are rendezvousing very generally. Colonel Harrison was un-

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easy at having none of them assigned to his corps of artillery, who have very much distinguished themselves in the late unfortunate action, and are reduced almost to nothing. We happened to have about four hundred drafts, raised in the last year, and never called out and sent on duty by their county lieutenants, whom we have collected and are collecting. We think to deliver these to Colonel Harrison: they are to serve eighteen months from the time of rendezvous. The numbers of regulars and militia ordered from this State into the southern service, are about seven thousand. I trust we may count that fifty-five hundred will actually proceed; but we have arms for three thousand only. If, therefore, we do not speedily receive a supply from Congress, we must countermand a proper number of these troops. Besides this supply, there should certainly be a magazine laid in here, to provide against a general loss as well as daily waste. When we deliver out those now in our magazine, we shall have sent seven thousand stand of our own into the southern service, in the course of this summer. We are still more destitute of clothing, tents and wagons for our troops. The southern army suffers for provisions, which we could plentifully supply, were it possible to find means of transportation. Despairing of this, we directed very considerable quantities, collected on the navigable waters, to be sent northwardly by the quarter-master. This he is now doing; slowly, however. Unapprised what

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may be proposed by our allies, to be done with their fleet in the course of the ensuing winter, I would beg leave to intimate to you, that if it should appear to them eligible that it should winter in the Chesapeake, they can be well supplied with provisions, taking their necessary measures in due time. The waters communicating with that bay furnish easy, and (in that case) safe transportation, and their money will call forth what is denied to ours.

I am, with all possible esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, September 26, 1780.

SIR,—The enclosed copy of a letter from Lord Cornwallis[1] to Colonel Balfour, was sent me by Gov-

[1] TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL NISBET BALFOUR, COMMANDER AT NINETY-SIX.

I have the happiness to inform you, that on Wednesday the 16th instant, I totally defeated General Gates's army. One thousand were killed and wounded, about eight hundred taken prisoners. We are in possession of eight pieces of brass cannon, all they had in the field, all their ammunition wagons, a great number of arms, and one hundred and thirty baggage wagons: in short, there never was a more complete victory. I have written to Lieutenant Colonel Turnbull, whom I sent to join Major Johnson on Little river, to push on after General Sumter to the Waxhaws, whose detachment is the only collected force of rebels in all this country. Colonel Tarleton is in pursuit of Sumter. Our loss is about three hundred killed and wounded, chiefly of the thirty-third regiment and volunteers, of Ireland. I have given orders that all the inhabitants of this province, who have subscribed and taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigor; also, that those who will not turn out, may be im-

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ernor Rutledge: lest you should not have seen it, I do myself the pleasure of transmitting it, with a letter from General Harrington to General Gates giving information of some late movements of the enemy.

I was honored yesterday with your favor of the 5th instant, on the subject of prisoners, and particularly Lieutenant Governor Hamilton. You are not unapprised of the influence of this officer with the Indians, his activity and embittered zeal against us. You also, perhaps, know how precarious is our tenure of the Illinois country, and how critical is the situation of the new counties on the Ohio. These circumstances determined us to detain Governor Hamilton and Major Hay within our power, when we delivered up the other prisoners. On a late representation from the people of Kentucky, by a person sent here from that country, and expressions of what they had reason to apprehend from these two prisoners, in the event of their liberation, we assured them they would not be parted with, though we were giving up our other prisoners. Lieutenant Colonel Dabusson, aid

prisoned, and their whole property taken from them, and destroyed. I have also ordered that satisfaction should be made for their estates, to those who have been injured and oppressed by them. I have ordered, in the most positive manner, that every militia man who has borne arms with us and afterwards joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged. I desire you will take the most rigorous measures to punish the rebels in the district in which you command, and that you will obey, in the strictest manner, the directions I have given in this letter, relative to the inhabitants of this country. CORNWALLIS.

August, 1780.

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to Baron de Kalb, lately came here on his parole, with an offer from Lord Rawdon, to exchange him for Hamilton. Colonel Towles is now here with a like proposition for himself, from General Phillips, very strongly urged by the General. These, and other overtures, do not lessen our opinion of the importance of retaining him; and they have been, and will be, uniformly rejected. Should the settlement, indeed, of a cartel become impracticable, without the consent of the States to submit their separate prisoners to its obligation, we will give up these two prisoners, as we would anything, rather than be an obstacle to a general good. But no other circumstance would, I believe, extract them from us. These two gentlemen, with a Lieutenant Colonel Elligood, are the only separate prisoners we have retained, and the last, only on his own request, and not because we set any store by him. There is, indeed, a Lieutenant Governor Rocheblawe of Kaskaskie, who has broken his parole, and gone to New York, whom we must shortly trouble your Excellency to demand for us, as soon as we can forward to you the proper documents. Since the forty prisoners sent to Winchester, as mentioned in my letter of the 9th ultimo, about one hundred and fifty more have been sent thither, some of them taken by us at sea, others sent on by General Gates.

The exposed and weak state of our western settlements, and the danger to which they are subject from the northern Indians, acting under the influ-

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ence of the British post at Detroit, render it necessary for us to keep from five to eight hundred men on duty, for their defence. This is a great and perpetual expense. Could that post be reduced and retained, it would cover all the States to the southeast of it. We have long meditated the attempt under the direction of Colonel Clarke, but the expense would be so great, that whenever we have wished to take it up, the circumstance has obliged us to decline it. Two different estimates make it amount to two millions of pounds, present money. We could furnish the men, provisions, and every necessary, except powder, had we the money, or could the demand from us be so far supplied from other quarters, as to leave it in our power to apply such a sum to that purpose; and, when once done, it would save annual expenditures to a great amount. When I speak of furnishing the men, I mean they should be militia, such being the popularity of Colonel Clarke, and the confidence of the western people in him, that he could raise the requisite number at any time. We, therefore, beg leave to refer this matter to yourself, to determine whether such an enterprise would not be for the general good, and if you think it would, to authorize it at the general expense. This is become the more reasonable, if, as I understand, the ratification of the Confederation has been rested on our cession of a part of our western claim; a cession which (speaking my private opinion) I verily believe will be

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agreed to, if the quantity demanded is not unreasonably great. Should this proposition be approved of, it should be immediately made known to us, as the season is now coming on, at which some of the preparations must be made. The time of execution, I think, should be at the time of the breaking up of the ice in the Wabash, and before the lakes open. The interval, I am told, is considerable.

I have the honor to be. &c., your most obedient and humble servant.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

RICHMOND, October 4, 1780.

SIR,—My letter of September 23d, answered your favors received before that date, and the present serves to acknowledge the receipt of those of September 24th and 27th. I retain in mind, and recur, almost daily, to your requisitions of August; we have, as yet, no prospect of more than one hundred tents. Flour is ordered to be manufactured, as soon as the season will render it safe; out of which, I trust, we can furnish not only your requisition of August, but that of Congress of September 11th. The corn you desire, we could furnish when the new crops come in, fully, if water transportation can be found; if not, we shall be able only to send you what lies convenient to the southern boundary, in which neighborhood the crops have been much abridged by a flood in Roanoke. We have no rice. Rum

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and other spirits we can furnish to a greater amount than you require, as soon as our wagons are in readiness, and shall be glad to commute into that article some others which we have not, particularly sugar, coffee and salt. The vinegar is provided. Colonel Finnie promised to furnish to Colonel Muter, a list of the spades, hoes, &c., which could be furnished from the Continental stores. This list has never yet come to hand. It is believed, the Continental stores here will fall little short of your requisition, except in the article of axes, which our shops are proceeding on. Your information of September 24th, as to the quality of the axes, has been notified to the workmen, and will, I hope, have a proper effect on those made hereafter. Application has been made to the courts, to have the bridges put in a proper state, which they have promised to do. We are endeavoring again to collect wagons. About twenty are nearly finished at this place. We employed, about three weeks ago, agents to purchase, in the western counties, a hundred wagons and teams. Till these can be got, it will be impossible to furnish anything from this place. I am exceedingly pleased to hear of your regulation for stopping our wagons at Roanoke. This will put it in our power to repair and replace them, to calculate their returns, provide loads, and will be a great encouragement to increase their number, if possible, as their departure hence will no longer produce the idea of a final adieu to them.

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Colonel Senf arrived here the evening before the last. He was employed yesterday and to-day, in copying some actual and accurate surveys, which we had had made of the country round about Portsmouth, as far as Cape Henry to the eastward, Nansemond river to the westward, the Dismal Swamp to the southward, and northwardly, the line of country from Portsmouth by Hampton and York, to Williamsburg, and including the vicinities of these three last posts. This will leave him nothing to do, but to take drawings of particular places, and the soundings of such waters as he thinks material. He will proceed on this business to-morrow, with a letter to General Nelson, and powers to call for the attendance of a proper vessel.

I suppose, that your drafts in favor of the quartermaster, if attended with sixty days' grace, may be complied with to a certain amount. We will certainly use our best endeavors to answer them. I have only to desire that they may be made payable to the quarter-master alone, and not to the bearer. This is to prevent the mortification of seeing an unapprised individual taken in by an assignment of them, as if they were *ready money*. Your letter to Colonel Finnie will go to Williamsburg immediately. Those to Congress, with a copy of the papers enclosed to me, went yesterday by express. I will take order as to the bacon you mention. I fear there is little of it, and that not capable of being long kept. You are surely not uninformed, that Congress required

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the greater part of this article to be sent northward, which has been done. I hope, by this time, you receive supplies of beeves from our commissary, Mr. Eaton, who was sent three weeks or a month ago to exhaust of that article the counties below, and in the neighborhood of Portsmouth; and from thence, was to proceed to the other counties, in order, as they stood exposed to an enemy.

The arrival of the French West India fleet (which, though not authentically communicated, seems supported by so many concurring accounts from individuals, as to leave scarcely room for doubt), will, I hope, prevent the enemy from carrying into effect the embarkation they had certainly intended from New York, though they are strengthened by the arrival of Admiral Rodney at that place, with twelve sail of the line and four frigates, as announced by General Washington to Congress, on the 19th ultimo. The accounts of the additional French fleet are varied, from sixteen to nineteen ships of the line, besides frigates. The number of the latter has never been mentioned. The extracts of letters, which you will see in our paper of this day, are from General Washington, President Huntington and our Delegates in Congress to me. That from Bladensburg is from a particular acquaintance of mine, whose credit cannot be doubted. The distress we are experiencing from want of leather to make shoes, is great. I am sure you have thought of preventing it in future, by the appointment of a commissary of

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hides, or some other good regulation for saving and tanning the hides, which the consumption of your army will afford.

I have the honor to be, with all possible esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO GENERAL GATES.

RICHMOND, October 15, 1780.

SIR,—I am rendered not a little anxious by the paragraph of yours of the 7th instant, wherein you say, "It is near a month since I received any letter from your Excellency; indeed, the receipt of most that I have written to you remain unacknowledged." You ought, within that time, to have received my letter of September the 3d, written immediately on my return to this place, after a fortnight's absence; that of September the 11th, acknowledging the receipt of yours which covered drafts for money; that of September the 23d, on the subject of batteaux at Taylor's ferry, wagons, maps of Virginia, wintering the French fleet in the Chesapeake, our new levies, and provisions from our lower counties; and that of October the 4th, in answer to yours of September the 24th, and 27th. I begin to apprehend treachery in some part of our chain of expresses, and beg the favor of you, in your next, to mention whether any, and which of these letters have come to hand. This acknowledges the receipt of yours of September the

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28th, and October the 3d, 5th, and 7th. The first of these was delivered four or five days ago by Captain Drew. He will be permitted to return as you desire, as we would fulfil your wishes in every point in our power, as well as indulge the ardor of a good officer. Our militia from the western counties, are now on their march to join you. They are fond of the kind of service in which Colonel Morgan is generally engaged, and are made very happy by being informed you intend to put them under him. Such as pass by this place, take muskets in their hands. Those from the southern counties beyond the Blue Ridge, were advised to carry their rifles. For those who carry neither rifles nor muskets, as well as for our eighteen months' men, we shall send on arms as soon as wagons can be procured. In the meantime, I had hoped that there were arms for those who should first arrive at Hillsborough, as by General Stevens's return, dated at his departure thence, there were somewhere between five and eight hundred muskets (I speak from memory, not having present access to the return) belonging to this State, either in the hands of the few militia who were there, or stored. Captain Fauntleroy, of the cavalry, gives me hopes he shall immediately forward a very considerable supply of accoutrements, for White's and Washington's cavalry. He told me yesterday, he had received one hundred and thirteen horses for that service, from us. Besides those, he had rejected sixty odd, after we

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had purchased them, at £30 apiece. Nelson's two troops were returned to me, deficient only twelve horses, since which, ten have been sent to him by Lieutenant Armstead. I am not a little disappointed, therefore, in the number of cavalry fit for duty, as mentioned in the letter you enclosed me. Your request (as stated in your letter of the 7th) that we will send no men into the field, or even to your camp, that are not well furnished with shoes, blankets, and every necessary for immediate service, would amount to a stoppage of every man; as we have it not in our power to furnish them with real necessaries completely. I hope they will be all shod. What proportion will have blankets, I cannot say: we purchase every one which can be found out; and now I begin to have a prospect of furnishing about half of them with tents, as soon as they can be made and forwarded. As to provisions, our agent, Eaton of whom I before wrote, informs me in a letter of the 5th instant, he shall immediately get supplies of beef into motion, and shall send some corn by a circuitous navigation. But till we receive our wagons from the western country, I cannot hope to aid you in bread. I expect daily to see wagons coming in to us. The militia were ordered to rendezvous at Hillsborough, expecting they would thence be ordered by you into service. I send you herewith, a copy of Henry's map of Virginia. It is a mere *cento* of blunders. It may serve to give you a general idea of the courses of rivers, and positions

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of counties. We are endeavoring to get you a copy of Fry and Jefferson's; but they are now very scarce. I also enclose you some newspapers, in which you will find a detail of Arnold's apostasy and villany.

I am, with all sentiments of sincere respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

P. S. Just as I was closing my letter, yours of the 9th instant was put into my hands. I enclose, by this express, a power to Mr. Lambe, quarter-master, to impress for a month, ten wagons from each of the counties of Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Charlotte, and Halifax, and direct him to take your orders, whether they shall go first to you, or come here. If the latter, we can load them with arms and spirits. Before their month is out, I hope the hundred wagons from the westward will have come in. We will otherwise provide a relief for these. I am perfectly astonished at your not having yet received my letters before mentioned. I send you a copy of that of the 4th of October, as being most material. I learn from one of General Muhlenburg's family, that five wagons have set out from hence, with three hundred stand of arms, &c. However, the General writes to you himself.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, October 22, 1780.

SIR,—I have this morning received certain information of the arrival of a hostile fleet in our bay, of about sixty sail. The debarkation of some light horse, in the neighborhood of Portsmouth, seems to indicate that as the first scene of action. We are endeavoring to collect as large a body to oppose them as we can arm; this will be lamentably inadequate, if the enemy be in any force. It is mortifying to suppose that a people, able and zealous to contend with their enemy, should be reduced to fold their arms for want of the means of defence. Yet no resources, that we know of, insure us against this event. It has become necessary to divert to this new object, a considerable part of the aids we had destined for General Gates. We are still, however, sensible of the necessity of supporting him, and have left that part of the country nearest him uncalled on, at present, that they may reinforce him as soon as arms can be received. We have called to the command of our forces Generals Weeden and Muhlenburg, of the line, and Nelson and Stevens of the militia. You will be pleased to make to these such additions as you may think proper. As to the aids of men, I ask for none, knowing that if the late detachment of the enemy shall have left it safe for you to spare aids of that kind, you will not await my application. Of the troops we shall raise, there

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is not a single man who ever saw the face of an enemy. Whether the Convention troops will be removed or not, is yet undetermined. This must depend on the force of the enemy, and the aspect of their movements.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

TO MAJOR GENERAL GATES.

IN COUNCIL, Oct. 22d, 1780.

SIR,—The letters which accompany this will inform you of the arrival of a large fleet of the enemy within our capes, and that they have begun their debarkation.[1] We are taking measures to collect a body to oppose them, for which purpose it seems necessary to retain such regulars, volunteers and militia as have not yet gone on to you. We have left the counties of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Halifax, and all above them on the south side of James river, uncalled on, that they may be in

[1 About the 22d of Oct. 1780, a British fleet made its appearance in the Chesapeake, having on board some three thousand troops, under the command of General Leslie. Different detachments were landed near Portsmouth, Hampton, and on the bay-side of Princess Anne. The whole force was subsequently collected at Portsmouth; but Leslie, probably disappointed in his expectation of forming a juncture with Cornwallis, suddenly re-embarked for South Carolina. On the 29th of the following December, Arnold made his appearance, with twenty-seven sail of vessels, within the Virginian capes, and commenced his invasion. On 26th of March, 1781, he was superseded in his command by General Phillips, who joined him at Portsmouth with some two thousand troops.—ED.]

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readiness to reinforce you as soon as arms can be procured. I am in hopes the eighteen months' men and western militia, who will have joined you with the volunteers from Washington and Montgomery, as proposed by Col. Preston, and the eighteen months' militia, will be a useful reinforcement to you, and shall continue to divide our attention, both as to men and provisions, between the army in your front and that which is posting itself within our own country.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

P. S. Col. Carrington is arrived since writing the above, and says you want thirty horses to move your artillery. They shall be immediately sent to you.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, October 25, 1780.

SIR,—I take the liberty of enclosing to you letters from Governor Hamilton, for New York. On some representations received by Colonel Towles, that an indulgence to Governor Hamilton and his companions to go to New York, on parole, would produce the happiest effect on the situation of our officers in Long Island, we have given him, Major Hay, and some of the same party at Winchester, leave to go there on parole. The two former go by water, the latter by land.

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By this express I hand on, from General Gates to Congress, intelligence of the capture of Augusta, in Georgia, with considerable quantities of goods; and information, which carries a fair appearance, of the taking of Georgetown, in South Carolina, by a party of ours, and that an army of six thousand French and Spaniards had landed at Sunbury. This is the more credible, as Cornwallis retreated from Charlotte on the 12th instant, with great marks of precipitation. Since my last to you, informing you of an enemy's fleet, they have landed eight hundred men in the neighborhood of Portsmouth, and some more on the bay side of Princess Anne. One thousand infantry landed at New-ports-news, on the morning of the 23d, and immediately took possession of Hampton. The horse were proceeding up the road. Such a corps as Major Lee's would be of infinite service to us. Next to a naval force, horse seems to be most capable of protecting a country so intersected by waters.

I am, with the most sincere esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, October 26, 1780.

SIR,—The Executive of this State think it expedient, under our present circumstances, that the prisoners of war under the Convention of Saratoga, be removed from their present situation. It will be

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impossible, as long as they remain with us, to prevent the hostile army from being reinforced by numerous desertions from this corps; and this expectation may be one among the probable causes of this movement of the enemy. Should, moreover, a rescue of them be attempted, the extensive disaffection which has of late been discovered, and the almost total want of arms in the hands of our good people, render the success of such an enterprise by no means desperate. The fear of this, and the dangerous convulsions to which such an attempt would expose us, divert the attention of a very considerable part of our militia from an opposition to an invading enemy. An order has been, therefore, this day issued to Colonel Wood, to take immediate measures for their removal; and every aid has been, and will be given him, for transporting, guarding, and subsisting them on the road, which our powers can accomplish. Notice hereof is sent to his Excellency Governor Lee, on whose part, I doubt not, necessary preparations will be made.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO GENERAL GATES.

RICHMOND, October 28, 1780.

SIR,—Your letters of the 14th, 20th and 21st have come to hand, and your despatches to Congress have

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been regularly forwarded. I shall attend to the caveat against Mr. Ochiltree's bill. Your letter to Colonel Senf remains still in my hands, as it did not come till the enemy had taken possession of the ground, on which I knew him to have been, and I have since no certain information where a letter might surely find him. My proposition as to your bills in favor of the quarter-master, referred to yours of September 27th. I have notified to the Continental quarter-master, your advance of nine hundred dollars to Cooper. As yet, we have received no wagons. I wish Mr. Lambe may have supplied you. Should those from the western quarter not come in, we will authorize him or some other, to procure a relief, in time, for those first impressed. We are upon the eve of a new arrangement as to our commissary's and quarter-master's departments, as the want of money, introducing its substitute force, requires the establishment of a different kind of system.

Since my first information to you of the arrival of an enemy, they have landed about eight hundred men near Portsmouth, some on the bay side of Princess Anne, one thousand at Hampton, and still retained considerable part on board their ships. Those at Hampton, after committing horrid depredations, have again retired to their ships, which, on the evening of the 26th, were strung along the road from New-ports-news, to the mouth of Nansemond, which seems to indicate an intention of coming up

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James river. Our information is, that they have from four to five thousand men, commanded by General Leslie, and that they have come under convoy of one forty-gun ship, and some frigates (how many has never been said), commanded by Commodore Rodney. Would it not be worth while to send out a swift boat from some of the inlets of Carolina, to notify the French Admiral that his enemies are in a net, if he has leisure to close the mouth of it? Generals Muhlenburg and Nelson are assembling a force to be ready for them, and General Weeden has come to this place, where he is at present employed in some arrangements. We have ordered the removal of the Saratoga prisoners, that we may have our hands clear for these new guests.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, November 3, 1780.

SIR,—Since I had the honor of writing to your Excellency, on the 25th ultimo, the enemy have withdrawn their forces from the North of James River, and have taken post at Portsmouth, which, we learn, they are fortifying. Their highest post is Suffolk, where there is a very narrow and defensible pass between Nansemond river and the Dismal Swamp, which covers the country below, from

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being entered by us. More accurate information of their force, than we at first had, gives us reason to suppose them to be from twenty-five hundred to three thousand strong, of which between sixty and seventy are cavalry. They are commanded by General Leslie, and were convoyed by the Romulus, of forty guns, the Blonde, of thirty-two guns, the Delight sloop, of sixteen, a twenty-gun ship of John Goodwick's, and two row gallies, commanded by Commodore Grayton. We are not assured, as yet, that they have landed their whole force. Indeed, they give out themselves, that after drawing the force of this State to Suffolk, they mean to go to Baltimore. Their movements had induced me to think they came with an expectation of meeting with Lord Cornwallis in this country, that his precipitate retreat has left them without a concerted object, and that they were waiting further orders. Information of this morning says, that being informed of Lord Cornwallis's retreat, and a public paper having been procured by them, wherein were printed the several despatches which brought this intelligence from General Gates, they unladed a vessel and sent her off to Charleston immediately. The fate of this army of theirs hangs on a very slender naval force, indeed.

The want of barracks at fort Frederick, as represented by Colonel Wood, the difficulty of getting wagons sufficient to move the whole Convention troops, and the state of uneasiness in which the

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regiment of guards is, have induced me to think it would be better to move these troops in two divisions; and as the whole danger of desertion to the enemy, and correspondence with the disaffected in our southern counties, is from the British only, (for from the Germans we have no apprehensions on either head), we have advised Colonel Wood to move on the British in the first division, and to leave the Germans in their present situation, to form a second division, when barracks may be erected at fort Frederick. By these means, the British may march immediately under the guard of Colonel Crochet's battalion, while Colonel Taylor's regiment of guards remains with the Germans. I cannot suppose this will be deemed such a separation as is provided against by the Convention, nor that their officers will wish to have the whole troops crowded into barracks, probably not sufficient for half of them. Should they, however, insist on their being kept together, I suppose it would be the opinion that the second division should follow the first as soon as possible, and that their being exposed, in that case, to a want of covering, would be justly imputable to themselves only. The delay of the second division, will lessen the distress for provisions, which may, perhaps, take place on their first going to the new post, before matters are properly arranged.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, November 10, 1780.

SIR,—I inclose your Excellency a copy of an intercepted letter from Major General Leslie, to Lord Cornwallis.[1] It was taken from a person endeavoring to pass through the country from Portsmouth towards Carolina. When apprehended, and a proposal made to search him, he readily consented to be searched, but, at the same time, was observed to put his hand into his pocket and carry something towards his mouth, as if it were a quid of tobacco; it was examined, and found to be a letter, of which the inclosed is a copy, written on silk paper, rolled up in gold-beater's skin, and nicely tied at each end, so as not to be larger than a goose-quill. As this is the first authentic disclosure of their purpose in coming here, and may serve to found, with somewhat more of certainty, conjectures respecting their future movements, while their disappointment in not meeting with Lord Cornwallis may occasion new plans at New York, I thought it worthy of communication to your Excellency.

Some deserters were taken yesterday, said to be

[1] TO LORD CORNWALLIS.

PORTSMOUTH, Virginia, November 4th, 1780.

MY LORD,—I have been here near a week, establishing a post. I wrote to you to Charleston, and by another messenger, by land. I cannot hear, for a certainty, where you are: I wait your orders. The bearer is to be handsomely rewarded, if he brings me any note or mark from your Lordship. A. L.

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of the British Convention troops, who have found means to get to the enemy at Portsmouth, and were seventy or eighty miles on their way back to the barracks, when they were taken. They were passing under the guise of deserters from Portsmouth.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO ———.[1]

RICHMOND, November 10, 1780.

SIR,—Your favor of the 3d instant, enclosing Colonel Preston's letter, came to hand on the 8th. The proposals mentioned in the Colonel's letter, for sending volunteers to you, were accepted, and put, as was necessary, into such precise form as that all parties might know what they had a right to expect. In doing this, two circumstances happened to interfere with what had been expected. We required that they should be subject to your orders, and those of such other officer as you should place them under: this was to enable you to make use of them in constituting the corps you had proposed under General Morgan; 2, that there should be two companies of rifles only to each battalion: this was the advice of General Morgan in a conversation with me. We have since dispensed with the last of these conditions, and allowed every man to carry his rifle, as we found

[1 Probably addressed to General Gates.]

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that absolutely necessary to induce them to go. Colonel Skiller, of Boletourt, writes me he has 150 engaged, and we shall endeavor to prevail upon Colonel Campbell to raise another corps, in which, if he undertakes it, I trust he will succeed. I am much at a loss what should be done as to the prisoners taken at King's Mountain. I do not think Montgomery Courthouse a good place, because it is very disaffected. It is too near their own country, and would admit their co-operation in any enterprize on our lead mines, which are about eight miles from thence. I have taken measures for continuing their march under a guard northwardly, and in the meantime for receiving instructions from Congress where to terminate their journey The British Convention troops will proceed immediately to Fort Frederick in Maryland. The Germans will remain in Albemarle till accommodations can be provided for them in the same place. From them we have no apprehensions of desertion to the enemy. Some British were taken yesterday, who are said to have been with the enemy, and were returning to the barracks. Two or three days ago, a British emissary from Portsmouth was taken endeavoring to proceed towards Carolina. On a proposal to search him, they observed him to put his hand in his pocket and put something to his mouth like a quid of tobacco. On examination it was found to be a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy, written on silk paper, rolled up in gold beater's skin, and nicely

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tied at each end, the whole not larger than a goose-quill. By this you will find our conjectures verified, that they expected to meet with Lord Cornwallis in the neighborhood at least of this county, and are disappointed and without an object. Can you not take measures for finding out the other messenger to Lord Cornwallis, who went by land? The force we shall now immediately have together, authorizes me to assure you, you need not apprehend their penetrating any distance southwardly. I only lament that this measure should have intercepted our reinforcements to you. We have left all the counties south of James River, and nearer to Hillsborough than Portsmouth, uncalled on, that they may be ready to go to the aid of our Southern friends whenever arms can be procured.

I am, with the greatest esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO EDWARD STEVENS.

RICHMOND, November 10, 1780.

SIR,—Your two letters of October 24th and October — have been duly received. I have been informed that the beeves which have been collected in Princess Anne and Norfolk, to be sent southwardly, were the first things which fell into the hands of the enemy. We received notice of this invasion a few hours after you left this place, and despatched a letter to recall you, which we expected would have

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found you in Petersburg. However, you had gone on, and as there should be a general officer with the men from this State in the Southern service, and we have here three general officers, we have not repeated our call for your assistance. The force called on to oppose the enemy, is as yet in a most chaotic state, consisting of fragments of three months' militia, eight months' men, eighteen months' men, volunteers, and new militia.

Were it possible to arm men, we would send on substantial reinforcements to you, notwithstanding the presence of the enemy with us; but the prospect of arms with us is very bad indeed. I have never received a line from Mr. Lambe as to his success in pressing wagons. None have yet come in from the westward. The Executive were so far from allowing the eight months' men to enlist into the Volunteer Corps, as you say, they pretend they were expressly excluded from it in the several propositions we made for raising volunteers. Nothing of moment has happened here since the arrival of the enemy. General Muhlenburg is at Stoaner's Mills, at the head of Pagan Creek, with our main force. General Nelson is on the north side of James River with another body. General Weeden is gone to join the one or the other. A British emissary was taken two or three days ago with a letter from General Leslie to Lord Cornwallis, informing him he was at Portsmouth, but could not learn where his Lordship was; that he had sent one letter to him to Charlestown by

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water, another by land, and waited his orders. Cannot measures be taken to apprehend the messenger who went by land?

I am, with the greatest esteem, Sir, your most humble servant.

TO GENERAL GATES.[1]

RICHMOND, November 19, 1780.

SIR,—The vessel which had been sent by General Leslie to Charlestown, as we supposed, returned about the 12th instant. The enemy began to embark soon after from Portsmouth, and in the night of the 15th, completed the embarkation of their whole force. On the morning of the 16th, some of our people entered Portsmouth. They had left their works unfinished and undestroyed. Great numbers of negroes, who had gone over to them, were left, either for the want of ship-room or through choice. They had not moved from Elizabeth river at 11 o'clock a.m. of the 16th. They gave out that they intended to go up James River; but the precipitate abandoning of works on receipt of some communication or other from Charlestown, was not likely to be for the purpose of coming up James River. I received this intelligence by express from General Muhlenburg yesterday morning. As the enemy's

[1 After the battle of Camden—August 16th, 1780—Congress removed General Gates from the command of the Southern army, and placed General Greene at its head. In December, 1780, he assumed the command.]

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situation was such as to give reason to expect every moment a movement in some direction, I delayed sending off notice to you, in hopes that that movement would point out their destination. But no such information being yet come to hand, I think it proper no longer to delay communicating to you so much.

Since writing so far, your favor of the 8th instant comes to hand, accompanied by one from General Stevens at Hillsborough of the 10th—a strange derangement, indeed, our riders have got into, to be nine days coming from Hillsborough. I shall be very happy if the departure of the enemy, which I hourly expect to be confirmed, shall leave us at liberty to send you a substantial reinforcement. The men, being now in the field, may be marched directly southwardly. What may be its precise amount, I cannot say, till I get from General Muhlenburg a return of the eighteen months'men, the eight months' men, and militia, who had been stopped here on their way to the southward, and from General Lawson a return of the volunteers he has engaged to go to the southward.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, November 26, 1780.

SIR,—I have been honored with your Excellency's letter of the 8th instant. Having found it imprac-

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ticable to move, suddenly, the whole Convention troops, British and German, and it being represented that there could not, immediately, be covering provided for them all at Fort Frederick, we concluded to march off the British first, from whom was the principal danger of desertion, and to permit the Germans, who show little disposition to join the enemy, to remain in their present quarters till something further be done. The British, accordingly, marched the 20th instant. They cross the Blue Ridge at Rock Fish Gap, and proceed along that valley. I am to apprise your Excellency, that the officers of every rank, both British and German, but particularly the former, have purchased within this State some of the finest horses in it. You will be pleased to determine, whether it be proper that they carry them within their lines. I believe the Convention of Saratoga entitles them to keep the horses they then had. But I presume none of the line, below the rank of field officers, had a horse. Considering the British will be now at Fort Frederick, and the Germans in Albemarle, Alexandria seems to be the most central point to which there is navigation. Would it not, therefore, be better that the flag vessel, solicited by General Phillips, should go to that place? It is about equally distant from the two posts. The roads to Albemarle are good. I know not how those are which lead to Fort Frederick. Your letter referring me to General Greene, for the mode of constructing light portable boats, unfortunately did not come to

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hand till he had left us. We had before determined to have something done in that way, and as they are still unexecuted, we should be greatly obliged by any draughts or hints, which could be given by any person within the reach of your Excellency.

I received advice, that on the 22d instant, the enemy's fleet got all under way, and were standing towards the capes: as it still remained undecided whether they would leave the bay or turn up it, I waited the next stage of information, that you might so far be enabled to judge of their destination. This I hourly expected, but it did not come till this evening, when I am informed they all got out to sea in the night of the 22d. What course they steered afterwards, is not known. I must do their General and Commander the justice to say, that in every case to which their attention and influence could reach, as far as I have been well informed, their conduct was such as does them the greatest honor. In the few instances of wanton and unnecessary devastation, they punished the aggressors.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

TO EDWARD STEVENS.

RICHMOND, November 26, 1780.

SIR,—The enemy, which lately invaded us, left our capes in the night of the 22d instant. What course they steered afterwards, is not known. Another

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fleet of transports, under the command of Admiral Rodney, fell down to the Hook on the 11th instant. As this, as well as the fleet, which lately left us, is destined for Charleston, we shall march from their present encampment all the forces who are so equipped as that they can proceed to distant service. With them, will go on between three and four hundred tents belonging to this State. Three hundred more are on the road from Philadelphia, and as many to follow. As Baron Steuben remains here to organize our forces, I shall be obliged, by special returns of the eighteen months' men, eight months' men, and three months' Militia, which have or shall come unto you as frequently as convenient. The Assembly being now met, will shortly, I hope, furnish us with money, so that we may be once more able to send supplies to the southward. We have collected here, at length, by impress principles, about thirty wagons, which have been delivered to the Continental Quarter-Master, to be sent on with stores to Taylor's Ferry.

I am, with great esteem, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

TO LT. JOHN LOUIS DE UNGER.[1]

RICHMOND, November 30th, 1780.

SIR,—The letter which covers this, being of a public nature, I wished to acknowledge separately the

[1 One of the Convention prisoners, in Albemarle.]

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many things personally obliging to me, expressed in your two letters. The very small amusement which it has been in my power to furnish, in order to lighten some of your heavy hours, by no means merited the acknowledgment you make. Their impression must be ascribed to your extreme sensibility rather than to their own weight. My wishes for your happiness give me participation in your joy at being exchanged, sensibly, however, alloyed by a presentiment of the loss I shall sustain, when I shall again be permitted to withdraw to that scene of quiet retirement, abstracted from which I know no happiness in this world. Your line of life must have given you attachments to objects of a very different nature. When the course of events shall have removed you to distant scenes of action, where laurels, not tarnished with the blood of my country, may be gathered, I shall urge sincere prayers for your obtaining every honor and preferment which may gladden the heart of a soldier. On the other hand, should your fondness for philosophy resume its merited ascendancy, is it impossible to hope that this unexplored country may tempt your residence by holding out materials wherewith to build a fame, founded on the happiness and not the calamities of human nature? Be this as it may, whether philosopher or soldier, I wish you many felicities, and assure you that I am, with great personal esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, December 15, 1780.

SIR,—I had the honor of writing to your Excellency on the subject of an expedition contemplated by this State, against the British post at Detroit, and of receiving your answer of October the 10th. Since the date of my letter, the face of things has so far changed, as to leave it no longer optional in us to attempt or decline the expedition, but compels us to decide in the affirmative, and to begin our preparations immediately. The army the enemy at present have in the south, the reinforcements still expected there, and their determination to direct their future exertions to that quarter, are not unknown to you. The regular force, proposed on our part to counteract those exertions, is such, either from the real or supposed inability of this State, as by no means to allow a hope that it may be effectual. It is, therefore, to be expected that the scene of war will either be within our country, or very nearly advanced to it; and that our principal dependence is to be on militia, for which reason it becomes incumbent to keep as great a proportion of our people as possible free to act in that quarter. In the meantime, a combination is forming in the westward, which, if not diverted, will call thither a principal and most valuable part of our militia. From intelligence received, we have reason to expect that a confederacy of British and Indians, to the amount of two thousand men, is

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formed for the purpose of spreading destruction and dismay through the whole extent of our frontier in the ensuing spring. Should this take place, we shall certainly lose in the South all aids of militia beyond the Blue Ridge, besides the inhabitants who must fall a sacrifice in the course of the savage irruptions.

There seems to be but one method of preventing this, which is, to give the western enemy employment in their own country. The regular force Colonel Clarke already has, with a proper draft from the militia beyond the Alleghany, and that of three or four of our most northern counties, will be adequate to the reduction of Fort Detroit, in the opinion of Colonel Clarke; and he assigns the most probable reasons for that opinion. We have, therefore, determined to undertake it, and commit it to his direction. Whether the expense of the enterprise shall be defrayed by the Continent or State, we will leave to be decided hereafter by Congress, in whose justice we can confide, as to the determination. In the meantime, we only ask the loan of such necessaries as, being already at Fort Pitt, will save time and an immense expense of transportation. These articles shall either be identically or specifically returned; should we prove successful, it is not improbable they may be where Congress would choose to keep them. I am, therefore, to solicit your Excellency's order to the commandant of Fort Pitt, for the articles contained in the annexed list, which shall not be called for until everything is in readiness; after which,

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there can be no danger of their being wanted for the post at which they are: indeed, there are few of the articles essential for the defence of the post.

I hope your Excellency will think yourself justified in lending us this aid, without awaiting the effect of an application elsewhere, as such a delay would render the undertaking abortive, by postponing it to the breaking up of the ice in the lake. Independent of the favorable effects, which a successful enterprise against Detroit must produce to the United States, in general, by keeping in quiet the frontier of the northern ones, and leaving our western militia at liberty to aid those of the South, we think the like friendly office performed by us to the States, whenever desired, and almost to the absolute exhausture of our own magazines, give well-founded hopes that we may be accommodated on this occasion. The supplies of military stores, which have been furnished by us to Fort Pitt itself, to the northern army, and, most of all, to the southern, are not altogether unknown to you. I am the more urgent for an immediate order, because Colonel Clarke awaits here your Excellency's answer by the express, though his presence in the western country, to make preparations for the expedition, is so very necessary if you enable him to undertake it. To the above, I must add a request to you to send for us to Pittsburg, persons proper to work the mortars, &c., as Colonel Clarke has none such, nor is there one in this State. They shall be in the pay of this State, from the time they

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leave you. Any money necessary for their journey, shall be repaid at Pittsburg, without fail, by the first of March.

At the desire of the General Assembly, I take the liberty of transmitting to you the enclosed resolution; and have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem and regard, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, January 10, 1781.

SIR,—It may seem odd, considering the important events which have taken place in this State within the course of ten days, that I should not have transmitted an account of them to your Excellency; but such has been their extraordinary rapidity, and such the unremitted attention they have required from all concerned in government, that I do not recollect the portion of time which I could have taken to commit them to paper.

On the 31st of December, a letter, from a private gentleman to General Nelson, came to my hands, notifying, that in the morning of the preceding day, twenty-seven sail of vessels had entered the capes; and from the tenor of the letter, we had reason to expect, within a few hours, further intelligence; whether they were friends or foes, their force, and other circumstances. We immediately despatched General Nelson to the lower country, with powers

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to call on the militia in that quarter, or act otherwise as exigencies should require; but waited further intelligence, before we would call for militia from the middle or upper country. No further intelligence came until the 2d instant, when the former was confirmed; it was ascertained they had advanced up James River in Wanasqueak bay. All arrangements were immediately taken, for calling in a sufficient body of militia for opposition. In the night of the 3d, we received advice that they were at anchor opposite Jamestown; we then supposed Williamsburg to be their object. The wind, however, which had hitherto been unfavorable, shifted fair, and the tide being also in their favor, they ascended the river to Kennons' that evening, and, with the next tide, came up to Westover, having, on their way, taken possession of some works we had at Hood's, by which two or three of their vessels received some damage, but which were of necessity abandoned by the small garrison of fifty men placed there, on the enemy's landing to invest the works. Intelligence of their having quitted the station at Jamestown, from which we supposed they meant to land for Williamsburg, and of their having got in the evening to Kennons', reached us the next morning at five o'clock, and was the first indication of their meaning to penetrate towards this place or Petersburg. As the orders for drawing militia here had been given but two days, no opposition was in readiness. Every effort was therefore neces-

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sary, to withdraw the arms and other military stores, records, &c., from this place. Every effort was, accordingly, exerted to convey them to the foundry five miles, and to a laboratory six miles, above this place, till about sunset of that day, when we learned the enemy had come to an anchor at Westover that morning. We then knew that this, and not Petersburg was their object, and began to carry across the river everything remaining here, and to remove what had been transported to the foundry and laboratory to Westham, the nearest crossing, seven miles above this place, which operation was continued till they had approached very near. They marched from Westover at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th, and entered Richmond at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th. A regiment of infantry and about thirty horse continued on, without halting, to the foundry. They burnt that, the boring mill, the magazine and two other houses, and proceeded to Westham; but nothing being in their power there, they retired to Richmond. The next morning, they burned some buildings of public and private property, with what stores remained in them, destroyed a great quantity of private stores, and about twelve o'clock, retired towards Westover, where they encamped within the neck the next day.

The loss sustained is not yet accurately known. As far as I have been able to discover, it consisted, at this place, of about three hundred muskets, some

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soldiers' clothing to a small amount, some quartermaster's stores, of which one hundred and twenty sides of leather was the principal article, part of the artificers' tools, and three wagons. Besides which, five brass four pounders which we had sunk in the river, were discovered to them, raised and carried off. At the foundry we lost the greater part of the papers belonging to the Auditor's office, and of the books and papers of the Council office. About five or six tons of powder, as we conjecture, was thrown into the canal, of which there will be a considerable saving by re-manufacturing it. The roof of the foundry was burned, but the stacks of chimneys and furnaces not at all injured. The boring mill was consumed. Within less than forty-eight hours from the time of their landing, and nineteen from our knowing their destination, they had penetrated thirty-three miles, done the whole injury, and retired. Their numbers, from the best intelligence I have had, are about fifteen hundred infantry; and, as to their cavalry, accounts vary from fifty to one hundred and twenty; the whole commanded by the parricide Arnold. Our militia, dispersed over a large tract of country, can be called in but slowly. On the day the enemy advanced to this place, two hundred only were embodied. They were of this town and its neighborhood, and were too few to do anything. At this time they are assembled in pretty considerable numbers on the south side of James River, but are not yet brought to a point. On the

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north side are two or three small bodies, amounting in the whole, to about nine hundred men. The enemy were at four o'clock yesterday evening still remaining in their encampment at Westover and Berkeley neck. In the meanwhile, Baron Steuben, a zealous friend, has descended from the dignity of his proper command to direct our smallest movements. His vigilance has, in a great measure, supplied the want of force in preventing the enemy from crossing the river, which might have been very fatal. He has been assiduously employed in preparing equipments for the militia as they should assemble, pointing them to a proper object, and other offices of a good commander. Should they loiter a little longer, and he be able to have a sufficient force, I still flatter myself they will not escape with total impunity. To what place they will point their next exertions we cannot even conjecture. The whole country on the tide waters and some distance from them is equally open to similar insult. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

RICHMOND, January 15, 1781.

SIR,—As the dangers which threaten our western frontiers the ensuing spring, render it necessary that we should send thither Colonel Crocket's battalion,

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at present on guard at Fredericktown, but raised for the western service, I thought it necessary to give your Excellency previous information thereof, that other forces may be provided in time to succeed to their duties. Captain Reid's troop of horse, if necessary, may be continued a while longer on guard.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

RICHMOND, January 15, 1781.

SIR,—I received some time ago from Major Forsyth, and afterwards from you, a requisition to furnish one half of the supplies of provision for the Convention troops, removed into Maryland. I should sooner have done myself the honor of writing to you on this subject, but that I hoped to have laid it before you more fully than could be done in writing, by a gentleman who was to pass on other public business to Philadelphia. The late events in this State having retarded his setting out, I think it my duty no longer to postpone explanation on this head.

You cannot be unapprised of the powerful armies of our enemy, at this time in this and the southern States, and that their future plan is to push their successes in the same quarter, by still larger rein-

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forcements. The forces to be opposed to these must be proportionably great, and these forces must be fed. By whom are they to be fed? Georgia and South Carolina are annihilated, at least as to us. By the requisition to us to send provisions into Maryland, it is to be supposed that none are to come to the southern army from any State north of this; for it would seem inconsistent, that while we should be sending North, Maryland and other States beyond that, should be sending their provisions South. Upon North Carolina, then, already exhausted by the ravages of two armies, and on this State, are to depend for subsistence those bodies of men who are to oppose the greater part of the enemy's force in the United States, the subsistence of the German, and of half the British Conventioners. To take a view of this matter on the Continental requisitions of November the 4th, 1780, for specific quotas of provisions, it is observable that North Carolina and Virginia are to furnish 10,475,740 pounds of animal food, and 13,529 barrels of flour, while the States north of these will yield 25,293,810 pounds of animal food, and 106,471 barrels of flour.

If the greater part of the British armies be employed in the South, it is to be supposed that the greater part of the American force will be sent there to oppose them. But should this be the case, while the distribution of the provisions is so very unequal, would it be proper to render it still more so, by

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withdrawing a part of our contributions to the support of posts northward of us? It would certainly be a great convenience to us, to deliver a portion of our specifics at Fredericktown, rather than in Carolina; but I leave it to you to judge, whether this would be consistent with the general good or safety. Instead of sending aids of any kind to the northward, it seems but too certain that unless very timely and substantial assistance be received from thence, our enemies are yet far short of the ultimate term of their successes. I beg leave, therefore, to refer to you whether the specifics of Maryland, as far as shall be necessary, had not better be applied to the support of the posts within it, for which its quota is much more than sufficient, or, were it otherwise, whether those of the States north of Maryland had not better be called on, than to detract anything from the resources of the southern opposition, already much too small for the encounter to which it is left. I am far from wishing to count or measure our contributions by the requisitions of Congress. Were they ever so much beyond these, I should readily strain them in aid of any one of our sister States. But while they are so far short of those calls to which they must be pointed in the first instance, it would be great misapplication to divert them to any other purpose; and I am persuaded you will think me perfectly within the line of duty, when I ask a revisal of this requisition.

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I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

RICHMOND, January 17, 1781.

SIR,—I do myself the honor of transmitting to your Excellency a resolution of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, entered into in consequence of the resolution of Congress of September the 6th, 1780, on the subject of the Confederation. I shall be rendered very happy if the other States of the Union, equally impressed with the necessity of that important convention, shall be willing to sacrifice equally to its completion. This single event, could it take place shortly, would overweigh every success which the enemy have hitherto obtained, and render desperate the hopes to which those successes have given birth.

I have the honor to be, with the most real esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.

RICHMOND, January 18, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,—I enclose you a Resolution of Assembly, directing your conduct as to the navigation of the Mississippi.

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The loss of powder lately sustained by us (about five tons), together with the quantities sent on to the southward, have reduced our stock very low indeed. We lent to Congress, in the course of the last year (previous to our issues for the southern army), about ten tons of powder. I shall be obliged to you, to procure an order from the board of war, for any quantity from five to ten tons, to be sent us immediately from Philadelphia or Baltimore, and to enquire into and hasten, from time to time, the execution of it. The stock of cartridge-paper is nearly exhausted. I do not know whether Captain Irish, or what other officer, should apply for this. It is essential that a good stock should be forwarded, and without a moment's delay. If there be a rock on which we are to split, it is the want of muskets, bayonets and cartouch-boxes.

The occurrences, since my last to the President, are not of any magnitude. Three little rencounters have happened with the enemy. In the first, General Smallwood led on a party of two or three hundred militia, and obliged some armed vessels of the enemy to retire from a prize they had taken at Broadway's, and renewing his attack the next day with a four-pounder or two (for on the first day he had only muskets), he obliged some of their vessels to fall down from City Point to their main fleet at Westover. The enemy's loss is not known; ours was four men wounded. One of the evenings, during their encampment at Westover and Berkeley, their

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light horse surprised a party of about one hundred or one hundred and fifty militia at Charles City Court House, killed and wounded four, and took, as has been generally said, about seven or eight. On Baron Steuben's approach towards Hood's, they embarked at Westover; the wind which, till then, had set directly up the river from the time of their leaving Jamestown, shifted in the moment to the opposite point. Baron Steuben had not reached Hood's, by eight or ten miles, when they arrived there. They landed their whole army in the night, Arnold attending in person. Captain Clarke (of Kaskaskias) had been sent on with two hundred and forty men by Baron Steuben, and having properly disposed of them in ambuscade, gave them a deliberate fire, which killed seventeen on the spot, and wounded thirteen. They returned it in confusion, by which we had three or four wounded, and our party being so small and without bayonets, were obliged to retire, on the enemy's charging with bayonets. They fell down to Cobham, whence they carried all the tobacco there (about sixty hogsheads); and the last intelligence was, that on the 16th, they were standing for New-ports-news. Baron Steuben is of opinion, they are proceeding to fix a post in some of the lower counties. Later information has given no reason to believe their force more considerable than we at first supposed. I think, since the arrival of the three transports which had been separated in a storm, they may be considered

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as about two thousand strong. Their naval force, according to the best intelligence, is the Charon, of forty-four guns, Commodore Symmonds, the Amphitrite, Iris, Thames, and Charlestown frigates, the Forvey, of twenty guns, two sloops of war, a privateer ship and two brigs. We have about thirty-seven hundred militia embodied, but at present they are divided into three distant encampments: one under General Weeden, at Fredericksburg, for the protection of the important works there; another under General Nelson, at and near Williamsburg; and a third under Baron Steuben, at Cabin Point. As soon as the enemy fix themselves, these will be brought to a point.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect, gentlemen, your most obedient servant.

TO ———.[1]

RICHMOND, January 21, 1781.

SIR,—Acquainted as you are with the treasons of Arnold, I need say nothing for your information, or to give you a proper sentiment of them. You will readily suppose, that it is above all things desirable to drag him from those under whose wing he is now sheltered. On his march to and from this place, I am certain it might have been done with facility by men of enterprise and firmness. I think it may still

[1] This letter has no address, but it was probably to General Muhlenburg.]

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be done, though perhaps not quite so easily. Having peculiar confidence in the men from the western side of the mountains, I meant, as soon as they should come down, to get the enterprise proposed to a chosen number of them: such whose courage and whose fidelity would be above all doubt. Your perfect knowledge of those men personally, and my confidence in your discretion, induces me to ask you to pick from among them proper characters, in such numbers as you think best, to reveal to them our desire, and engage them to undertake to seize and bring off this greatest of all traitors. Whether this may be best effected by their going in as friends, and awaiting their opportunity, or otherwise, is left to themselves. The smaller the number the better, so that they be sufficient to manage him. Every necessary caution must be used on their part, to prevent a discovery of their design by the enemy, as, should they be taken, the laws of war will justify against them the most rigorous sentence. I will undertake, if they are successful in bringing him off alive, that they shall receive five thousand guineas reward among them. And to men, formed for such an enterprise, it must be a great incitement to know that their names will be recorded with glory in history, with those of Vanwert, Paulding, and Williams. The enclosed order from Baron Steuben will authorize you to call for and dispose of any force you may think necessary, to place in readiness for covering the enterprise and securing the retreat

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of the party. Mr. Newton, the bearer of this, and to whom its contents are communicated in confidence, will provide men of trust to go as guides. These may be associated in the enterprise or not, as you please. But let that point be previously settled, that no difficulties may arise as to the parties entitled to participate of the reward. You know how necessary profound secrecy is in this business, even if it be not undertaken.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, February 8, 1781.

SIR,—I have just received intelligence, which, though from a private hand, I believe is to be relied on, that a fleet of the enemy's ships have entered Cape Fear river, that eight of them had got over the bar, and many others were laying off; and that it was supposed to be a reinforcement to Lord Cornwallis, under the command of General Prevost. This account, which had come through another channel, is confirmed by a letter from General Parsons at Halifax, to the gentleman who forwards it to me. I thought it of sufficient importance to be communicated to your Excellency by the stationed expresses. The fatal want of arms puts it out of our power to bring a greater force into the field, than will barely suffice to restrain the adventures of the pitiful body of men they have at Portsmouth. Should any more be added to them, this country

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will be perfectly open to them, by land as well as water.

I have the honor to be, with all possible respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, February 12, 1781.

SIR,—The enclosed extract of a letter from Governor Nash,[1] which I received this day, being a confirmation of the intelligence I transmitted in a former letter, I take the liberty of transmitting it to your Excellency. I am informed, through a private channel on which I have considerable reliance, that the enemy had landed five hundred troops under the command of a Major Craig, who were joined by a number of disaffected; that they had penetrated forty miles; that their aim appeared to be the magazine at Kingston, from which place they were about twenty miles distant.

Baron Steuben transmits to your Excellency a letter from General Greene, by which you will learn the events which have taken place in that quarter since the defeat of Colonel Tarleton, by General Morgan. These events speak best for themselves, and no doubt will suggest what is necessary to be done to prevent the successive losses of State after State, to which the want of arms and of a regular

[1 Governor of North Carolina.]

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soldiery, seem more especially to expose those in the South.

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, February 17, 1781.

SIR,—By a letter from General Greene, dated Guilford Court House, February 10th, we are informed that Lord Cornwallis had burnt his own wagons, in order to enable himself to move with greater facility, and had pressed immediately on.[1] The prisoners

[1 General Greene, after taking command of the Southern army, divided his force, and sent one division of it, under General Morgan, to the western part of South Carolina. Cornwallis, who was now nearly prepared to invade North Carolina, unwilling to leave Morgan in his rear, sent Tarleton in pursuit of him. The two detachments met on the 17th of January, 1781, when the battle of Cowpens was fought, and Tarleton defeated. Cornwallis, after the defeat of Tarleton, abandoned the invasion of North Carolina for the present, and started in pursuit of Morgan. Greene, suspecting his intention, hastened to join Morgan, and, after a fatiguing march, effected a junction at Guilford Court House. During this march he was closely pursued by Cornwallis, who, as stated in the above letter, "burnt his own wagons in order to enable himself to move with greater facility." After this junction at Guilford Court House, Greene crossed the Dan, into Virginia—again narrowly escaping the pursuit of Cornwallis, who now retired to Hillsborough, where, erecting the royal standard, he issued his proclamation, inviting the loyalists to join him, and sent Tarleton with a detachment to support a body of them collected between the Havre and Deep Rivers. Greene, having despatched Generals Pickens and Lee to watch the movements of Tarleton, and having been reinforced in Virginia, now returned into North Carolina, and fought the battle of Guilford Court House on the 8th of March, 1781.—ED.]

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taken at the Cowpens, were happily saved by the accidental rise of a water-course, which gave so much time as to withdraw them from the reach of the enemy. Lord Cornwallis had advanced to the vicinities of the Moravian towns, and was still moving on rapidly. His object was supposed to be to compel General Greene to an action, which, under the difference of force they had, would probably be ruinous to the latter. General Greene meant to retire by the way of Boyd's ferry, on the Roanoke. As yet he had lost little or no stores or baggage, but they were far from being safe. In the instant of receiving this intelligence, we ordered a reinforcement of militia to him, from the most convenient counties in which there was a hope of finding any arms. Some great event must arise from the present situation of things, which, for a long time, will determine the condition of southern affairs.

Arnold lies close in his quarters. Two days ago, I received information of the arrival of a sixty-four gun ship and two frigates in our bay, being part of the fleet of our good ally at Rhode Island. Could they get at the British fleet here, they are sufficient to destroy them; but these being drawn up into Elizabeth River, into which the sixty-four cannot enter, I apprehend they could do nothing more than block up the river. This, indeed, would reduce the enemy, as we could cut off their supplies by land; but the operation being tedious, would probably be too dangerous for the auxiliary force. Not having

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yet had any particular information of the designs of the French Commander, I cannot pretend to say what measures this aid will lead to.

Our proposition to the Cherokee Chiefs, to visit Congress, for the purpose of preventing or delaying a rupture with that nation, was too late. Their distresses had too much ripened their alienation from us, and the storm had gathered to a head, when Major Martin got back. It was determined to carry the war into their country, rather than await it in ours, and thus disagreeably circumstanced, the issue has been successful.

The militia of this State and North Carolina penetrated into their country, burned almost every town they had, amounting to about one thousand houses in the whole, destroyed fifty thousand bushels of grain, killed twenty-nine, and took seventeen prisoners. The latter are mostly women and children.

I enclose your Excellency the particulars as reported to me. Congress will be pleased to determine on Col. Campbell's proposition to build the fort at the confluence of the Holston and Tennessee.

I have the honor to be, &c., your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have received information which, though not authentic, deserves attention: that Lord Cornwallis had got to Boyd's ferry on the 14th. I am issuing orders, in consequence, to other counties, to embody and march all

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the men they can arm. In this fatal situation, without arms, there will be no safety for the Convention troops but in their removal, which I shall accordingly order. The prisoners of the Cowpens were at New London (Bedford Court House) on the 14th.

TO GENERAL GATES.

RICHMOND, February 17, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—The situation of affairs here and in Carolina, is such as must shortly turn up important events, one way or the other. By letter from General Greene, dated Guilford Court House, February the 10th, I learn that Lord Cornwallis, rendered furious by the affair at the Cowpens and the surprise of Georgetown, had burned his own wagons, to enable himself to move with facility, had pressed on to the vicinity of the Moravian towns, and was still advancing. The prisoners, taken at the Cowpens, were saved by a hair's-breadth accident, and Greene was retreating. His force, two thousand regulars, and no militia; Cornwallis's, three thousand. General Davidson was killed in a skirmish. Arnold lies still at Portsmouth with fifteen hundred men. A French sixty-four gun ship, and two frigates of thirty-six each, arrived in our bay three days ago. They would suffice to destroy the British shipping here (a forty-four frigate, and a twenty,) could they get at them. But these are withdrawn up Elizabeth river, which the sixty-four cannot enter. We have ordered about

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seven hundred riflemen from Washington, Montgomery and Bedford, and five hundred common militia from Pittsylvania and Henry, to reinforce General Greene; and five hundred new levies will march from Chesterfield Court House, in a few days. I have no doubt, however, that the southwestern counties will have turned out in greater numbers before our orders reach them.

I have been knocking at the door of Congress for aids of all kinds, but especially of arms, ever since the middle of summer. The speaker, Harrison, is gone to be heard on that subject. Justice, indeed, requires that we should be aided powerfully. Yet if they would repay us the arms we have lent them, we should give the enemy trouble, though abandoned to ourselves.

After repeated applications, I have obtained a warrant for your advance money, £18,000, which I have put into the hands of Mr. McAlister, to receive the money from the Treasurer, and carry it to you.

I am, with very sincere esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO COLONEL CAMPBELL.

RICHMOND, February 17, 1781.

SIR,—I have received your several favors by Mr. Sathim, and am much pleased at the happy issue of the expedition against the Cherokees. I wish it to be used for the purpose of bringing about peace,

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which, under our present circumstances, is as necessary for us, as it can possibly be to them.

If you can effect this, a right should be reserved of building a fort at the confluence of Holston and Tennessee; a matter which we must refer to Congress, as it lies not within our boundary. The prisoners you have taken had better be kept for the purpose of exchanging for any of ours taken by them. Should any surplus be on hand at the conclusion of peace, they should be given up. Nancy Ward seems rather to have taken refuge with you. In this case, her inclination ought to be followed as to what is done with her.

As by our laws, the pay of militia is made the same with that of the Continental troops, and that, by a resolution of Congress, is to be in the new money of March 18th, 1780, or in old money at forty for one, I apprehend you will be paid at that rate. By a late arrangement, the Commissary is directed to have a deputy in every county. I hope that by their means the militia may henceforward be better supplied with provisions when proceeding on an expedition. The fort at Powell's Valley you will please to proceed on. We approve of the company you have raised for patrolling against the Indians and garrisoning the fort.

I am, with much respect, sir, your most obedient servant.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, February 26, 1781.

SIR,—I gave you information in my last letter, that General Greene had crossed the Dan, at Boyd's ferry, and that Lord Cornwallis had arrived at the opposite shore. Large reinforcements of militia having embodied both in front and rear of the enemy, he is retreating with as much rapidity as he advanced; his route is towards Hillsborough. General Greene re-crossed the Dan on the 21st, in pursuit of him. I have the pleasure to inform you, that the spirit of opposition was as universal as could have been wished for. There was no restraint on the numbers that embodied, but the want of arms.

The British at Portsmouth lie close in their lines. The French squadron keep them in by water, and since their arrival, as they put it out of the power of the enemy to cut off our retreat by sending up Nansemond river, our force has been moved down close to their lines.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO M. DE MARBOIS.[1]

RICHMOND, March 4th, 1781.

SIR,—I have been honored with your letter of Feb. 5th. Mr. Jones did put into my hands a paper con-

[1 M. de Marbois was attached to the French Legation in Philadelphia.—ED.]

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taining sundry inquiries into the present state of Virginia, which he informed me was from yourself, and some of which I meant to do myself the honor of answering.

Hitherto it has been in my power to collect a few materials only, which my present occupations disable me from completing. I mean, however, shortly to be in a condition which will leave me quite at leisure to take them up, when it shall be one of my first undertakings to give you as full information as I shall be able to do on such of the subjects as are within the sphere of my acquaintance. On some of them, however, I trust Mr. Jones will engage abler hands. Those in particular which relate to the commerce of the State, a subject with which I am wholly unacquainted, and which is probably the most important in your plan.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, March 8th, 1781.

SIR,—I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from General Greene, dated High-rock Ford, February 29th (probably March the 1st), who informs me, that on the night of the 24th Colonel McCall surprised a subaltern's guard at Hart's Mill, killed eight, and wounded and took nine prisoners, and that on the 25th General Pickens and Lieutenant Colonel Lee routed a body of near three hundred Tories on the

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Haw river, who were in arms to join the British army, killed upwards of one hundred, and wounded most of the rest, which had a very happy effect on the disaffected in that country.

By a letter from Major Magill, an officer of this State, whom I had sent to General Greene's headquarters for the purpose of giving us regular intelligence, dated Guilford County, March 2d, I am informed that Lord Cornwallis, on his retreat, erected the British standard at Hillsborough, that a number of disaffected under the command of Colonel Piles were resorting to it, when they were intercepted by General Pickens and Lieutenant Colonel Lee, as mentioned by General Greene, and that their commanding officer was among the slain: that Lord Cornwallis, after destroying everything he could, moved down the Haw river from Hillsborough: that General Greene was within six miles of him: that our superiority in the goodness, though not in the number of our cavalry, prevented the enemy from moving with rapidity or foraging. Having been particular in desiring Major Magill to inform me what corps of militia from this State joined General Greene, he accordingly mentioned that seven hundred under General Stevens, and four hundred from Botetourt, had actually joined him; that Colonel Campbell was to join him that day with six hundred, and that Colonel Lynch with three hundred from Bedford, was shortly expected: the last three numbers being riflemen. Besides these mentioned by Major Magill,

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General Lawson must, before this, have crossed Roanoke with a body of militia, the number of which has not been stated to me. Report makes them a thousand; but I suppose the number to be exaggerated. Four hundred of our new levies left Chesterfield Court House on the 25th February, and probably would cross the Roanoke about the 1st or 2d of March.

I was honored with your Excellency's letter of February the 21st, within seven days after its date. We have, accordingly, been making every preparation on our part which we are able to make. The militia proposed to co-operate, will be upwards of four thousand from this State, and one thousand or twelve hundred from Carolina, said to be under General Gregory. The enemy are, at this time, in a great measure blockaded by land, there being a force on the east side of Elizabeth river. They suffer for provisions, as they are afraid to venture far, lest the French squadron should be in the neighborhood, and come upon them. Were it possible to block up the river, a little time would suffice to reduce them by want and desertions, and would be more sure in its event than an attempt by storm. I shall be very happy to have it in my power to hand you a favorable account of these two armies in the South.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

RICHMOND, March 19, 1781.

SIR,—I have the honor of enclosing to your Excellency a copy of a letter from General Greene, with some other intelligence received, not doubting your anxiety to know the movements in the South. I find we have deceived ourselves not a little by counting on the whole numbers of the militia which have been in motion, as if they had all remained with General Greene, when, in fact, they seem only to have visited and quitted him.

The Marquis Fayette arrived at New York on the 15th. His troops still remained at the head of the bay, till the appearance of some force which should render their passage down safe.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

RICHMOND, March 21, 1781.

SIR,—The enclosed letter will inform you of the arrival of a British fleet in the Chesapeake bay.

The extreme negligence of our stationed expresses is no doubt the cause why, as yet, no authentic account has reached us of a general action, which happened on the 15th instant, about a mile and a half from Guilford Court House, between General

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Greene and Lord Cornwallis. Captain Singleton, an intelligent officer of Harrison's artillery, who was in the action, has this moment arrived here, and gives the general information that both parties were prepared and desirous for action; the enemy were supposed about twenty-five hundred strong, our army about four thousand. That, after a very warm and general engagement, of about an hour and a half, we retreated about a mile and a half from the field, in good order, having, as he supposed, between two and three hundred killed and wounded: the enemy between five and seven hundred killed and wounded; that we lost four pieces of artillery: that the militia, as well as regulars, behaved exceedingly well: that General Greene, he believes, would have renewed the action the next day, had it not proved rainy, and would renew it as soon as possible, as he supposes: that the whole of his troops, both regulars and militia, were in high spirits and wishing a second engagement: that the loss has fallen pretty equally on the militia and regulars: that General Stevens received a ball through the thigh. Major Anderson, of Maryland, was killed, and Captain Barrett, of Washington's cavalry; Captain Fauntleroy, of the same cavalry, was shot through the thigh, and left on the field.

Captain Singleton, having left the camp the day after the battle, does not speak from particular returns, none such having been then made. I must inform your Excellency from him, till more regular applications can reach you, that they are in *extreme*

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want of lead, cartridge paper and thread. I think it improper, however it might urge an instantaneous supply, to repeat to you his statement of the extent of their stock of these articles. In a former letter, I mentioned to you the failure of the vein of our lead mines, which has left the army here in a state of equal distress and danger.

I have the honor to be, with very high respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

P. S. Look-out boats have been ordered from the seaboard of the eastern shore, to apprise the Commander of the French fleet, on its approach, of the British being in the Chesapeake.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

IN COUNCIL, RICHMOND, March 26, 1781.

SIR,—The appointment of commissioner to the war office of this State, having lately become vacant, the Executive are desirous to place Colonel William Davies, of the Virginian Continentals, in that office. This gentleman, however, declines undertaking it, unless his rank in the army, half pay for life and allowance for depreciation of pay, can be reserved to him; observing with justice, that these emoluments, distant as they are, are important to a person who has spent the most valuable part of his youth in the service of his country. As this indulgence rests in the power of Congress alone, I am induced to request

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it of them on behalf of the State, to whom it is very interesting that the office be properly filled, and I may say, on behalf of the Continent also, to whom the same circumstance is interesting, in proportion to its reliance upon this State for supplies to the southern war. We should not have given Congress the trouble of this application, had we found it easy to call any other to the office, who was likely to answer our wishes in the exercise of it.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

RICHMOND, March 28, 1781.

SIR,—I forward to your Excellency, under cover with this, copies of letters received from Major General Greene and Baron Steuben, which will give you the latest account of the situation of things with us and in North Carolina.

I observe a late resolve of Congress, for furnishing a number of arms to the southern States; and I lately wrote you on the subject of ammunition and cartridge paper. How much of this State, the enemy thus reinforced, may think proper to possess themselves of, must depend on their own moderation and caution, till these supplies arrive. We had hoped to receive by the French squadron under Monsieur Destouches, eleven hundred stand of arms, which

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we had at Rhode Island, but were disappointed. The necessity of hurrying forward the troops intended for the southern operations, will be doubtless apparent from this letter.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

RICHMOND, March 31, 1781.

SIR,—The letters and papers accompanying this will inform your Excellency of the arrival of a British flag vessel with clothing, refreshments, money, &c., for their prisoners, under the Convention of Saratoga. The gentlemen conducting them, have, on supposition that the prisoners, or a part of them, still remained in this State, applied to me by letters, copies of which I transmit your Excellency, for leave to allow water transportation as far as possible, and then, for themselves to attend them to the post where they are to be issued. These indulgences were usually granted them here, but the prisoners being removed, it becomes necessary to transmit the application to Congress for their direction. In the meantime, the flag will wait in James river.

Our intelligence from General Greene's camp as late as the 24th, is, that Lord Cornwallis's march of the day before had decided his route to Cross creek.

The amount of the reinforcements to the enemy,

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arrived at Portsmouth, is not yet known with certainty. Accounts differ from fifteen hundred to much larger numbers. We are informed they have a considerable number of horse. The affliction of the people for want of arms is great; that of ammunition is not yet known to them. An apprehension is added, that the enterprise on Portsmouth being laid aside, the troops under the Marquis Fayette will not come on. An enemy three thousand strong, not a regular in the State, nor arms to put in the hands of the militia, are, indeed, discouraging circumstances.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

RICHMOND, April 7, 1781.

SIR,—Hearing that our arms from Rhode Island have arrived at Philadelphia, I have begged the favor of our Delegates to send them on in wagons immediately, and, for the conveyance of my letter, have taken the liberty of setting the Continental line of expresses in motion, which I hope our distress for arms will justify, though the errand be not purely Continental.

I have nothing from General Greene later than the 27th of March; our accounts from Portsmouth vary

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the reinforcements, which came under General Phillips, from twenty-five hundred to three thousand. Arnold's strength before, was, I think, reduced to eleven hundred. They have made no movement as yet. Their preparation of boats is considerable; whether they mean to go southwardly or up the river, no leading circumstance has yet decided.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

IN COUNCIL, April 18, 1781.

SIR,—I was honored, yesterday, with your Excellency's favor enclosing the resolutions of Congress of the 8th instant, for removing stores and provisions from the counties of Accomack and Northampton. We have there no military stores, except a few muskets in the hands of the militia. There are some collections of forage and provisions belonging to the Continent, and some to the State, and the country there, generally, furnishes an abundance of forage. But such is the present condition of Chesapeake Bay that we cannot even get an advice boat across it with any certainty, much less adventure on transportation. Should, however, any interval happen, in which these articles may be withdrawn, we shall certainly avail ourselves of it, and bring thence whatever we can.

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If I have been rightly informed, the horses there are by no means such, as that the enemy could apply them to the purposes of cavalry. Some large enough for the draught may, perhaps, be found, but of these not many.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, April 23, 1781.

SIR,—On the 18th instant, the enemy came from Portsmouth up James river, in considerable force, though their numbers are not yet precisely known to us. They landed at Burwell's ferry, below Williamsburg, and also a short distance above the mouth of Chickahominy. This latter circumstance obliged Colonel Innis, who commanded a body of militia, stationed on that side the river to cover the country from depredation, to retire upwards, lest he should be placed between their two bodies. One of these entered Williamsburg on the 20th, and the other proceeded to a ship-yard we had on Chickahominy. What injury they did there, I am not yet informed. I take for granted, they have burned an unfinished twenty-gun ship we had there. Such of the stores, belonging to the yard as were movable, had been carried some miles higher up the river. Two small gallies also retired up the river. Whether

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by this, either the stores or gallies were saved, is yet unknown. I am just informed, from a private hand, that they left Williamsburg early yesterday morning. If this sudden departure was not in consequence of some circumstance of alarm unknown to us, their expedition to Williamsburg has been unaccountable. There were no public stores at that place, but those which were necessary for the daily subsistence of the men there. Where they mean to descend next, the event alone can determine. Besides harassing our militia with this kind of war, the taking them from their farms at the interesting season of planting their corn, will have an unfortunate effect on the crop of the ensuing year.

I have heard nothing certain of General Greene since the 6th instant, except that his head-quarters were on Little river on the 11th.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, May 9, 1781.

SIR,—Since the last letter which I had the honor of addressing to your Excellency, the military movements in this State, except a very late one, have scarcely merited communication.

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The enemy, after leaving Williamsburg, came directly up James river and landed at City Point, being the point of land on the southern point of the confluence of Appomattox and James rivers. They marched upon Petersburg, where they were received by Baron Steuben, with a body of militia somewhat under one thousand, who, though the enemy were two thousand and three hundred strong, disputed the ground very handsomely two hours, during which time the enemy gained only one mile, and that by inches. Our troops were then ordered to retire over a bridge, which they did in perfectly good order. Our loss was between sixty and seventy, killed, wounded, and taken. The enemy's is unknown, but it must be equal to ours; for their own honor they must confess this, as they broke twice and run like sheep, till supported by fresh troops. An inferiority in number obliged our force to withdraw about twelve miles upwards, till more militia should be assembled. The enemy burned all the tobacco in the warehouses at Petersburg and its neighborhood. They afterwards proceeded to Osborne's, where they did the same, and also destroyed the residue of the public armed vessels, and several of private property, and then came to Manchester, which is on the hill opposite this place.

By this time, Major General Marquis Fayette having been advised of our danger, had, by forced marches, got here with his detachment of Continental troops; and reinforcements of militia having also

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come in, the enemy, finding we were able to meet them on equal footing, thought proper to burn the warehouses and tobacco at Manchester, and retire to Warwick, where they did the same. Ill armed and untried militia, who never before saw the face of an enemy, have, at times, during the course of this war, given occasions of exultation to our enemies, but they afforded us, while at Warwick, a little satisfaction in the same way. Six or eight hundred of their picked men of light infantry, with General Arnold at their head, having crossed the river from Warwick, fled from a patrole of sixteen horse, every man into his boat as he could, some pushing North, some South, as their fears drove them. Their whole force then proceeded to the Hundred, being the point of land within the confluence of the two rivers, embarked, and fell down the river. Their foremost vessels had got below Burwell's ferry on the 6th instant, when, on the arrival of a boat from Portsmouth, and a signal given, the whole crowded sail up the river again with a fair wind and tide, and came to anchor at Brandon; there six days' provision was dealt out to every man; they landed, and had orders to march an hour before day the next morning. We have not yet heard which way they went, or whether they have gone, but having, about the same time, received authentic information that Lord Cornwallis had, on the 1st instant, advanced from Wilmington half way to Halifax, we have no doubt, putting all circumstances together, that these two armies are forming a junction.

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We are strengthening our hands with militia, as far as arms, either public or private, can be collected, but cannot arm a force which may face the combined armies of the enemy. It will, therefore, be of very great importance that General Wayne's forces be pressed on with the utmost despatch. Arms and a naval force, however, are what must ultimately save us. This movement of our enemies we consider as most perilous in its consequences.

Our latest advices from General Greene were of the 26th ult., when he was lying before Camden, the works and garrison of which were much stronger than he had expected to find them.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

TO THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.

IN COUNCIL, May 10, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,—A small affair has taken place between the British commanding officer in this State, General Phillips, and the Executive, of which, as he may endeavor to get rid of it through the medium of Congress, I think it necessary previously to apprise you.

General Scott obtained permission from the Commandant at Charleston, for vessels with necessary supplies to go from hence to them, but instead of sending the original, sent only a copy of the permis-

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sion taken by his brigade major. I applied to General Phillips to supply this omission by furnishing a passport for the vessel. Having just before taken great offence at a threat of retaliation in the treatment of prisoners, he enclosed his answer to my letter under this address, "To Thomas Jefferson, Esq., American Governor of Virginia." I paused on receiving the letter, and for some time would not open it; however, when the miserable condition of our brethren in Charleston occurred to me, I could not determine that they should be left without the necessaries of life, while a punctilio should be discussing between the British General and myself; and, knowing that I had an opportunity of returning the compliment to Mr. Phillips in a case perfectly corresponding, I opened the letter.

Very shortly after, I received, as I expected, the permission of the board of war, for the British flag vessel then in Hampton Roads with clothing and refreshments, to proceed to Alexandria. I enclosed and addressed it, "To William Phillips, Esq., commanding the British forces in the Commonwealth of Virginia." Personally knowing Phillips to be the proudest man of the proudest nation on earth, I well know he will not open this letter; but having occasion, at the same time, to write to Captain Gerlach, the flag-master, I informed him that the Convention troops in this State should perish for want of necessaries, before any should be carried to them through this State, till General Phillips either

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swallowed this pill of retaliation, or made an apology for his rudeness. And in this, should the matter come ultimately to Congress, we hope for their support.

He has the less right to insist on the expedition of his flag, because his letter, instead of enclosing a passport to expedite ours, contained only an evasion of the application, by saying he had referred it to Sir Henry Clinton, and in the meantime, he has come up the river, and taken the vessel with her loading, which we had chartered and prepared to send to Charleston, and which wanted nothing but the passport to enable her to depart.

I would further observe to you, that this gentleman's letters to the Baron Steuben first, and afterwards to the Marquis Fayette, have been in a style so intolerably insolent and haughty, that both these gentlemen have been obliged to inform him, that if he thinks proper to address them again in the same spirit, all intercourse shall be discontinued.

I am, with great respect and esteem, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, May 28, 1781.

SIR,—I make no doubt you will have heard, before this shall have the honor of being presented to your Excellency, of the junction of Lord Cornwallis with the force at Petersburg under Arnold, who had suc-

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ceeded to the command on the death of Major-general Phillips. I am now advised that they have evacuated Petersburg, joined at Westover a reinforcement of two thousand men just arrived from New York, crossed James River, and on the 26th instant, were three miles advanced on their way towards Richmond; at which place, Major-General the Marquis Fayette lay with three thousand men, regulars and militia: these being the whole number we could arm, until the arrival of the eleven hundred arms from Rhode Island, which are, about this time, at the place where our public stores are deposited. The whole force of the enemy within this State, from the best intelligence I have been able to get, is, I think, about seven thousand men, infantry and cavalry, including, also, the small garrison left at Portsmouth. A number of privateers, which are constantly ravaging the shores of our rivers, prevent us from receiving any aid from the counties lying on navigable waters; and powerful operations meditated against our western frontier, by a joint force of British and Indian savages, have, as your Excellency before knew, obliged us to embody between two and three thousand men in that quarter. Your Excellency will judge from this state of things, and from what you know of our country, what it may probably suffer during the present campaign. Should the enemy be able to produce no opportunity of annihilating the Marquis's army, a small proportion of their force may yet restrain his movements effec-

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tually while the greater part are employed, in detachment, to waste an unarmed country, and lead the minds of the people to acquiesce under those events which they see no human power prepared to ward off. We are too far removed from the other scenes of war to say, whether the main force of the enemy be within this State. But I suppose they cannot anywhere spare so great an army for the operations of the field. Were it possible for this circumstance to justify in your Excellency a determination to lend us your personal aid, it is evident, from the universal voice, that the presence of their beloved countryman, whose talents have so long been successfully employed in establishing the freedom of kindred States, to whose person they have still flattered themselves they retained some right, and have ever looked up, as their *dernier resort* in distress, would restore full confidence of salvation to our citizens, and would render them equal to whatever is not impossible. I cannot undertake to foresee and obviate the difficulties which lie in the way of such a resolution. The whole subject is before you, of which I see only detached parts; and your judgment will be formed on a view of the whole. Should the danger of this State and its consequence to the Union, be such, as to render it best for the whole that you should repair to its assistance, the difficulty would then be, how to keep men out of the field. I have undertaken to hint this matter to your Excellency, not only on my own

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sense of its importance to us, but at the solicitations of many members of weight in our legislature, which has not yet assembled to speak their own desires.

A few days will bring to me that relief which the constitution has prepared for those oppressed with the labors of my office, and a long declared resolution of relinquishing it to abler hands, has prepared my way for retirement to a private station: still, as an individual, I should feel the comfortable effects of your presence, and have (what I thought could not have been) an additional motive for that gratitude, esteem, and respect, with which I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

TO THE MARQUIS LA FAYETTE.

MONTICELLO, August 4, 1781.

SIR,—I am much obliged by the trouble you took in forwarding to me the letter of his Excellency, the President of Congress. It found me in Bedford, an hundred miles southward of this, where I was confined till within these few days, by an unfortunate fall from my horse. This has occasioned the delay of the answer which I now take the liberty of enclosing to you, as the confidential channel of conveyance, pointed out by the President.

I thank you also for your kind sentiments and friendly offer on the occasion, which, that I cannot avail myself of, has given me more mortification than almost any occurrence of my life. I lose an

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opportunity, the only one I ever had, and perhaps ever shall have, of combining public service with private gratification. Of seeing countries whose improvements in science, in arts, and in civilization, it has been my fortune to admire at a distance, but never to see, and at the same time of lending some aid to a cause, which has been handed on from its first organization to its present stage, by every effort of which my poor faculties were capable. These, however, have not been such as to give satisfaction to some of my countrymen, and it has become necessary for me to remain in the State till a later period in the present year, than is consistent with an acceptance of what has been offered me.[1] Declining higher objects, therefore, my only one must be to show that suggestion and fact are different things, and that public misfortune may be produced as well by public poverty and private disobedience to the laws, as by the misconduct of public servants.[2] The independence of private life under the protection of republican laws will, I hope, yield me the happiness from which no slave is so remote as the minister of

[1] On the 15th of June, 1781, Mr. Jefferson was appointed, with Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, Minister Plenipotentiary for negotiating peace, then expected to be effected through the mediation of the Empress of Russia.—Ed.]

[2] In 1781, the depredations of the enemy, and the public and private losses which they occasioned, produced the ordinary effect of complaint against those who had charge of the public defence, and especially against Mr. Jefferson (the Governor of Virginia). A popular clamor was excited against him, and, under the impulses of the moment, Mr. George Nicholas, a member from Albemarle, moved his impeachment.

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a commonwealth. From motives of private esteem as well as public gratitude, I shall pray it to be your lot in every line of life, as no one can with more truth subscribe himself with the highest regard and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH, ESQ.

MONTICELLO, September 16, 1781.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 7th instant. That, mentioned to have been sent by the preceding post, has not come to hand, nor two others, which Mrs. Randolph informs me you wrote before you left Virginia, nor indeed any others, should you have been so kind as to have written any others. When I received the first letter from the President of Congress, enclosing their resolution, and mentioning the necessity of an expeditious departure, my determination to attend at the next session of the Assembly offered a ready and insuperable

The charges were, 1. That he had not, as soon as advised by General Washington of the meditated invasion, put the country in a state of preparation and defence; 2. That during the invasion, he did not use the means of resistance which were at his command; 3. That he too much consulted his personal safety, when Arnold first entered Richmond, by which others were dispirited and discouraged; 4. That he ignominiously fled from Monticello to the neighboring mountain on Tarleton's approach to Charlottesville; and 5. That he abandoned the office of Governor as soon as it became one of difficulty and danger.

Mr. Jefferson has been long since acquitted of these charges by the almost unanimous voice of his countrymen.—ED.]

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obstacle to my accepting of that appointment, and left me under no necessity of deliberating with myself whether, that objection being removed, any other considerations might prevent my undertaking it. I find there are many, and must, therefore, decline it altogether. Were it possible for me to determine again to enter into public business, there is no appointment whatever which would have been so agreeable to me. But I have taken my final leave of everything of that nature. I have retired to my farm, my family and books, from which I think nothing will evermore separate me. A desire to leave public office, with a reputation not more blotted than it has deserved, will oblige me to emerge at the next session of our Assembly, and perhaps to accept of a seat in it. But as I go with a single object, I shall withdraw when that shall be accomplished. I should have thought that North Carolina, rescued from the hands of Britain, Georgia and almost the whole of South Carolina recovered, would have been sufficiently humiliating to induce them to treat with us. If this will not do, I hope the stroke is now hanging over them which will satisfy them that their views of Southern conquests are likely to be as visionary as those of Northern. I think it impossible Lord Cornwallis should escape. Mrs. Randolph will be able to give you all the news on this subject, as soon as you shall be able to release her from others. I am, with much esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

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TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

MONTICELLO, October 28th, 1781.

SIR,—I hope it will not be unacceptable to your Excellency to receive the congratulations of a private individual on your return to your native country, and, above all things, on the important success which has attended it.[1] Great as this has been, however, it can scarcely add to the affection with which we have looked up to you. And if, in the minds of any, the motives of gratitude to our good allies were not sufficiently apparent, the part they have borne in this action must amply evince them. Notwithstanding the state of perpetual decrepitude to which I am unfortunately reduced, I should certainly have done myself the honor of paying my respects to you personally; but I apprehend these visits, which are meant by us as marks of our attachment to you, must interfere with the regulations of a camp, and be particularly inconvenient to one whose time is too precious to be wasted in ceremony.

I beg you to believe me among the sincerest of those who subscribe themselves, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO GENERAL GATES.

RICHMOND, December 14th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your friendly letters of August 2d and November 15th, and some of the

[1 The battle of Yorktown.]

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gentlemen to whom you wished them to be communicated not being here, I have taken the liberty of handing them to some others, so as to answer the spirit of your wish. It seems likely to end, as I ever expected it would, in a final acknowledgment that good dispositions and arrangements will not do without a certain degree of bravery and discipline in those who are to carry them into execution. This, the men whom you commanded, or the greater part of them at least, unfortunately wanted on that particular occasion.

I have not a doubt but that, on a fair enquiry, the returning justice of your countrymen will remind them of Saratoga, and induce them to recognize your merits. My future plan of life scarcely admits a hope of my having the pleasure of seeing you at your seat; yet I assuredly shall do it should it ever lie within my power, and am assured that Mrs. Jefferson will join me in sincere thanks for your kind sentiments and invitation, and in expressions of equal esteem for Mrs. Gates and yourself, and in a certain hope that, should any circumstance lead you within our reach, you will make us happy by your company at Monticello. We have no news to communicate. That the Assembly does little, does not come under that description.

I am, with very sincere esteem, dear sir your friend and servant.

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TO JAMES MADISON.

MONTICELLO, March 24th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I have received from you two several favors, on the subject of the designs against the territorial rights of Virginia.[1] I never before could comprehend on what principle our rights to the western country could be denied, which would not, at the same time, subvert the right of all the States to the whole of their territory. What objections may be founded on the charter of New York, I cannot say, having never seen that charter, nor been able to get a copy of it in this country. I had thought to have seized the first leisure on my return from the last Assembly, to have considered and stated our rights, and to have communicated to our delegates, or perhaps to the public, so much as I could trace, and expected to have derived some assistance from ancient MSS., which I have been able to collect. These, with my other papers and books, however, had been removed to Augusta to be out of danger from the enemy, and have not yet

[1 The title of Virginia to the Northwestern territory was controverted, as early as 1779, by some of the other States, upon the ground that all lands, the title of which had originally been in the crown and had never been alienated, were the common property of the Confederation, by right of conquest—the revolution having transferred the title from the British sovereign to the Confederation. This view was resisted by Virginia in an able remonstrance to Congress in October, 1779. The question, however, never came to an issue; for Virginia, moved by a patriotic impulse, and ready to sacrifice her individual interest to the general good, made a voluntary cession of the whole territory to the Confederation.]

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been brought back. The ground on which I now find the question to be bottomed is so unknown to me that it is out of my power to say anything on the subject. Should it be practicable for me to procure a copy of the charter of New York, I shall probably think on it, and would cheerfully communicate to you whatever could occur to me worth your notice. But this will probably be much too late to be of any service before Congress, who doubtless will decide, ere long, on the subject. I sincerely wish their decision may tend to the preservation of peace. If I am not totally deceived in the determination of this country, the decision of Congress, if unfavorable, will not close the question. I suppose some people on the western waters, who are ambitious to be Governors, &c., will urge a separation by authority of Congress. But the bulk of the people westward are already thrown into great ferment by the report of what is proposed, to which I think they will not submit. This separation is unacceptable to us in form only, and not in substance. On the contrary, I may safely say it is desired by the eastern part of our country whenever their western brethren shall think themselves able to stand alone. In the meantime, on the petition of the western counties, a plan is digesting for rendering their access to government more easy. I trouble you with the enclosed to Mons. Marbois. I had the pleasure of hearing that your father and family were all well yesterday, by your brother, who is

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about to study the law in my neighborhood. I shall always be glad to hear from you, and, if it be possible for me, retired from public business, to find anything worth your notice, I shall communicate it with great pleasure.

I am with sincere esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

JAMES MONROE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

RICHMOND, 11th of May, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—As I so lately wrote you by Mr. Short, and have since daily expected to see you here, I did not propose writing to you till after I should have that pleasure; but as I begin to fear you will not abate that firmness and decision which you have frequently shown in the service of your country, even upon this occasion, and as I have had an opportunity since I last wrote of being better informed of the sentiments of those whom I know you put the greatest value on, I think it my duty to make you acquainted therewith. It is publicly said here, that the people of your country informed you that they had frequently elected you in times of less difficulty and danger than the present to please you; but that now they had called you forth into public office to serve themselves. This is a language which has been often used in my presence; and you will readily conceive that, as it furnishes

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those who argue on the fundamental maxims of a Republican government with ample field for declamation, the conclusion has always been, that you should not decline the service of your country. The present is generally conceived to be an important era, which, of course, makes your attendance particularly necessary. And as I have taken the liberty to give you the public opinion and desire upon this occasion, and as I am warmly interested in whatever concerns the public interest or has relation to you, it will be necessary to add, it is earnestly the desire of, dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and obedient servant.

TO COLONEL JAMES MONROE.

MONTICELLO, May 20th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I have been gratified with your two favors of the 6th and 11th inst. It gives me pleasure that your county has been wise enough to enlist your talent into their service. I am much obliged by the kind wishes you express of seeing me also in Richmond, and am always mortified when anything is expected from me which I cannot fulfill, and more especially if it relate to the public service. Before I ventured to declare to my countrymen my determination to retire from public employment, I examined well my heart to know whether it were thoroughly cured of every principle of political

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ambition, whether no lurking particle remained which might leave me uneasy, when reduced within the limits of mere private life. I became satisfied that every fibre of that passion was thoroughly eradicated. I examined also, in other views, my right to withdraw. I considered that I had been thirteen years engaged in public service—that, during that time, I had so totally abandoned all attention to my private affairs as to permit them to run into great disorder and ruin—that I had now a family advanced to years which require my attention and instruction—that, to these, was added the hopeful offspring of a deceased friend, whose memory must be forever dear to me, and who have no other reliance for being rendered useful to themselves or their country—that by a constant sacrifice of time, labor, parental and friendly duties, I had, so far from gaining the affection of my countrymen, which was the only reward I ever asked or could have felt, even lost the small estimation I had before possessed.

That, however I might have comforted myself under the disapprobation of the well-meaning but uninformed people, yet, that of their representatives was a shock on which I had not calculated. That this, indeed, had been followed by an exculpatory declaration. But, in the meantime, I had been suspected in the eyes of the world, without the least hint then or afterwards being made public, which might restrain them from supposing that I stood

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arraigned for treason of the heart, and not merely weakness of the mind; and I felt that these injuries, for such they have been since acknowledged, had inflicted a wound on my spirit which will only be cured by the all-healing grave. If reason and inclination unite in justifying my retirement, the laws of my country are equally in favor of it. Whether the State may command the political services of all its members to an indefinite extent, or, if these be among the rights never wholly ceded to the public power, is a question which I do not find expressly decided in England. Obiter dictums on the subject I have indeed met with, but the complexion of the times in which these have dropped would generally answer them. Besides that, this species of authority is not acknowledged in our possession.

In this country, however, since the present government has been established, the point has been settled by uniform, pointed and multiplied precedents. Offices of every kind, and given by every power, have been daily and hourly declined and resigned from the Declaration of Independence to this moment. The General Assembly has accepted these without discrimination of office, and without ever questioning them in point of right. If the difference between the office of a delegate and any other could ever have been supposed, yet in the case of Mr. Thompson Mason, who declined the office of delegate, and was permitted so to do by

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the House, that supposition has been proved to be groundless. But, indeed, no such distinction of offices can be admitted. Reason, and the opinions of the lawyers, putting all on a footing as to this question, and so giving to the delegate the aid of all the precedents of the refusal of other offices. The law then does not warrant the assumption of such a power by the State over its members. For if it does, where is that law? Nor yet does reason. For though I will admit that this does subject every individual, if called on, to an equal tour of political duty, yet it can never go so far as to submit to it his whole existence. If we are made in some degree for others, yet, in a greater, are we made for ourselves. It were contrary to feeling, and indeed ridiculous to suppose that a man had less rights in himself than one of his neighbors, or indeed all of them put together. This would be slavery, and not that liberty which the bill of rights has made inviolable, and for the preservation of which our government has been charged. Nothing could so completely divest us of that liberty as the establishment of the opinion, that the State has a perpetual right to the services of all its members. This, to men of certain ways of thinking, would be to annihilate the blessings of existence, and to contradict the Giver of life, who gave it for happiness and not for wretchedness. And certainly, to such it were better that they had never been born. However, with these, I may think public service and private misery insep-

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arably linked together, I have not the vanity to count myself among those whom the State would think worth oppressing with perpetual service. I have received a sufficient memento to the contrary. I am persuaded that, having hitherto dedicated to them the whole of the active and useful part of my life, I shall be permitted to pass the rest in mental quiet. I hope, too, that I did not mistake modes any more than the matter of right when I preferred a simple act of renunciation, to the taking sanctuary under those disqualifications (provided by the law for other purposes indeed but) affording asylum also for rest to the wearied. I dare say you did not expect by the few words you dropped on the right of renunciation to expose yourself to the fatigue of so long a letter, but I wished you to see that, if I had done wrong, I had been betrayed by a semblance of right at least. I take the liberty of enclosing to you a letter for General Chattellux, for which you will readily find means of conveyance. But I mean to give you more trouble with the one to Pelham, who lives in the neighborhood of Manchester, and to ask the favor of you to send it by your servant—express—which I am in hopes may be done without absenting him from your person, but during those hours in which you will be engaged in the house. I am anxious that it should be received immediately. * * * * * * * It will give me great pleasure to see you here whenever you can favor us with your company. You will find me still

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busy, but in lighter occupations. But in these and all others you will find me to retain a due sense of your friendship, and to be, with sincere esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

CHESTERFIELD, November 26, 1782.

SIR,—I received yesterday the letter with which you have been pleased to honor me, enclosing the resolution of Congress of the 12th instant, renewing my appointment as one of their ministers plenipotentiary for negotiating a peace—and beg leave, through you, to return my sincere thanks to that august body, for the confidence they are pleased to repose in me, and to tender the same to yourself for the obliging manner in which you have notified it.[1] I will employ in this arduous charge, with diligence

[1 Mr. Jefferson's reasons for now accepting this appointment, which he had previously declined, are thus explained by himself:—"I had, about two months before, lost the cherished companion of my life [his wife], in whose affection, unabated on both sides, I had lived the last ten years in unchequered happiness." On the 19th of December, 1782, he left Monticello for Philadelphia, where he intended to embark for Europe; but the French Minister Luzerne, offering him a passage in the French frigate Romulus, then lying below Baltimore, he accepted the offer. The sailing of this frigate being delayed by ice, and a British fleet on the coast, information, in the meantime, reached America that a provisional treaty of peace had been signed by the American Commissioners, to become absolute on the conclusion of peace between France and England. On the arrival of this information, Mr. Jefferson was released from his mission, and returned to his home in Virginia on the 15th May, 1783.—ED.]

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and integrity, the best of my poor talents, which I am conscious are far short of what it requires. This, I hope, will ensure to me from Congress a kind construction of all my transactions. And it gives me no small pleasure, that my communications will pass through the hands of a gentleman with whom I have acted in the earlier stages of this contest, and whose candor and discernment I had the good fortune then to approve and esteem. Your letter finds me at a distance from home, attending my family under inoculation. This will add to the delay which the arrangements of my particular affairs would necessarily occasion. I shall lose no moment, however, in preparing for my departure, and shall hope to pay my respects to Congress and yourself at some time between the 20th and the last of December.

I have the honor to be, with very great esteem and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO THE CHEVALIER DE CHATTELLUX.

AMPHILL, November 26, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I received your friendly letters of — and June 30th, but the latter not till the 17th of October. It found me a little emerging from the stupor of mind which had rendered me as dead to the world as was she whose loss occasioned it.[1] Your letter recalled to my memory that there were

[1 The death of Mrs. Jefferson.]

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persons still living of much value to me. If you should have thought me remiss in not testifying to you sooner, how deeply I had been impressed with your worth in the little time I had the happiness of being with you, you will, I am sure, ascribe it to its true cause, the state of dreadful suspense in which I have been kept all the summer, and the catastrophe which closed it

Before that event, my scheme of life had been determined. I had folded myself in the arms of retirement, and rested all prospects of future happiness on domestic and literary objects. A single event wiped away all my plans, and left me a blank which I had not the spirits to fill up. In this state of mind an appointment from Congress found me, requiring me to cross the Atlantic. And that temptation might be added to duty, I was informed, at the same time, from his Excellency the Chevalier de Luzerne, that a vessel of force would be sailing about the middle of December in which you would be passing to France. I accepted the appointment, and my only object now is, to so hasten over those obstacles which would retard my departure, as to be ready to join you in your voyage—fondly measuring your affection by my own, and presuming your consent. It is not certain that I can, by any exertion, be in Philadelphia by the middle of December—the contrary is most probable. But hoping it will not be much later, and counting on those procrastinations which usually attend the departure of vessels

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of size, I have hopes of being with you in time. This will give me full leisure to learn the result of your observations on the natural bridge, to communicate to you my answers to the enquiries of Monsieur de Marbois, to receive edification from you on these and other subjects of science; considering chess, too, as a matter of science. Should I be able to get out in tolerable time, and any extraordinary delays attend the sailing of the vessel, I shall certainly do myself the honor of waiting on his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, at his head-quarters, and assuring him in person of my high respect and esteem for him—an object of which I have never lost sight. To yourself, I am unable to express the warmth of those sentiments of friendship and attachment with which I have the honor, to be dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO MR. STEPTOE.

November 26, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I received in August your favor, wherein you give me hopes of being able to procure for me some of the big bones. I should be unfaithful to my own feeling, were I not to express to you how much I am obliged by your attention to the requests I made you on that subject. A specimen of each of the several species of bones now to be found, is to me the most desirable objects in natural

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history. And there is no expense of package or of safe transportation which I will not gladly reimburse, to procure them safely. Elk horns of very extraordinary size, or anything else uncommon, would be very acceptable. You will hear of my going to Europe, but my trip there will be short. I mention this, lest you should hesitate forwarding any curiosities to me. New London in Bedford, Staunton in Augusta, or Frederick County, are places from whence I can surely get them. Any observations of your own on the subject of the big bones or their history, or on anything else in the western country, will come acceptably to me, because I know you see the works of nature in the great and not merely in detail. Descriptions of animals, vegetables, minerals, or other curious things; notes as to the Indians' information of the country between the Mississippi and waters of the South Sea, &c., &c., will strike your mind as worthy being communicated. I wish you had more time to pay attention to them. I perceive by your letter, you are not unapprized that your services to your country have not made due impression on every mind. That you have enemies, you must not doubt, when you reflect that you have made yourself eminent. If you meant to escape malice, you should have confined yourself within the sleepy line of regular duty. When you transgressed this, and enterprised deeds which will hand down your name with honor to future times, you made yourself a mark for envy and malice to shoot at. Of these

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there is enough, you know, both in and out of office. I was not a little surprised, however, to find one person hostile to you, as far as he has personal courage to show hostility to any man. Who he is, you will probably have heard, or may know him by this description—as being all tongue without either head or heart. In the variety of his crooked schemes, however, his interest may probably veer about, so as to put it in your power to be useful to him. In which case, he certainly will be your friend again, if you want him. That you may long continue a fit object for his enmity, and for that of every person of his complexion in the State, which I know can only be by your continuing to do good to your country and to acquire honor to yourself, is the earnest prayer of one who subscribes himself, with great truth and sincerity, dear Sir,

Your friend and servant.

TO JAMES MADISON.

AMPHILL, IN CHESTERFIELD,
November 26th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor by Colonel Basset is not yet come to hand. The intimation through the attorney, I received the day before Colonel Bland's arrival, by whom I am honored with yours of the 14th inst. It finds me at this place attending my family under inoculation. This will of course retard those

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arrangements of my domestic affairs, which will of themselves take time and cannot be made but at home. I shall lose no time, however, in preparing for my departure. And from the calculation I am at present enabled to make, I suppose I cannot be in Philadelphia before the 20th of December, and that possibly it may be the last of that month. Some days I must certainly pass there, as I could not propose to jump into the midst of a negotiation without a single article of previous information. From these data, you will be enabled to judge of the chance of availing myself of his Excellency, the Chevalier de Luzerne's, kind offers, to whom I beg you to present my thanks for his friendly attention, and let him know I shall use my best endeavors to be in time for the departure of his frigate. No circumstances of a private nature could induce me to hasten over the several obstacles to my departure more unremitting than the hope of having the Chevalier de Chattellux as a companion in my voyage. A previous acquaintance with his worth and abilities, had impressed me with an affection for him which, under the then prospect of never seeing him again, was perhaps imprudent.

I am with very sincere esteem, dear Sir, your very affectionate friend, and humble servant.

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TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, January 22d, 1783.

SIR,—Having lately received a call from Congress to pass the Atlantic in the character of their minister for negotiating peace, I cannot leave the continent without separating myself for a moment from the general gratitude of my country, to offer my individual tribute to your Excellency for all you have suffered and all you have effected for us. Were I to indulge myself in those warm effusions which this subject forever prompts, they would wear an appearance of adulation very foreign to my nature; for such is become the prostitution of language that sincerity has no longer distinct terms in which to express her own truths. Should you give me occasion, during the short mission on which I go, to render you any service beyond the water, I shall, for a proof of my gratitude, appeal from language to the zeal with which I shall embrace it. The negotiations to which I am joined may perhaps be protracted beyond our present expectations, in which case, though I know you must receive much better intelligence from the gentlemen whose residence there has brought them into a more intimate acquaintance with the characters and views of the European courts, yet I shall certainly presume to add my mite, should it only serve to convince you of the warmth of those sentiments of respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE, MINISTER OF FRANCE.

BALTIMORE, February 7th, 1783.

SIR,—The Chevalier de Ville Brun was so kind as to communicate to me yesterday your Excellency's letter to him of January, together with the intelligence therein referred to. I feel myself bound to return you my thanks, for your orders to the Guadeloupe frigate to receive me, if I should think a passage should be hazarded under present circumstances. According to this information (which is the most worthy of credit of any we have received here), it would seem that our capture would be unavoidable were we to go out now. This, therefore, is a risk to which I cannot think of exposing his Majesty's vessel and subjects; however I might be disposed to encounter personal hazards, from my anxiety to execute, with all the promptitude in my power, a service which has been assigned to me. I shall therefore wait with patience the arrival of the moment when the Chevalier de Ville Brun shall be of opinion that the one or the other of the vessels may venture out without any greater risk than he shall think proportioned to her proper object, independently of mine. It has been suggested to me this evening, that perhaps their safe departure might be greatly forwarded by their falling down to York, or Hampton, there to be ready at a moment's warning, to avail themselves of those favorable circumstances which the present season sometimes offers.

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But of this, yourself will be the proper judge. I cannot close my letter without expressing to you my obligations to the Chevalier de Ville Brun for the particular attention he has shown to my accommodation on board his ship. The apartments he has had constructed for me are ample and commodious, and his politeness and deportment as an officer are an agreeable presage of everything that shall depend on him. I have delivered to him the two large packets you were pleased to put into my hands, and he will dispose of them according to your orders.

I have the honor to be, with the highest sentiments of esteem, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON, SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

BALTIMORE, February 7, 1783.

SIR,—I arrived here on the 30th of the last month, and had a short interview the same evening with the Chevalier de Ville Brun, commander of the Ramilies. There appeared at that time little apprehension but that we might sail in a few days, but we were not very particular in our conference, as we expected to see each other again. The severity of the cold, however, which commenced that night, obliged the Chevalier de Ville Brun to fall twelve miles below this place, and excluded all correspondence with him till yesterday, when I found means to get through the ice on

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board his ship. He then communicated to me, by direction of his Excellency, the minister of France, intelligence as to the number and force of the cruisers now actually watching the capes of the Chesapeake. I must acknowledge that the appearances are such as to render a capture certain were we to hazard it. The minister was pleased at the same time to submit the Guadeloupe to my wishes, if I chose to adventure. I take the liberty of troubling you with a copy of my letter to him on that subject. I should certainly be disposed to run very considerable risks myself to effect my passage; but should think it an unfortunate introduction to an ally, who has already done so much for us, were I to add to his losses and disbursements that of a valuable ship and crew. I wish that the present delay offered some period less distant than the lassitude of an avaricious enemy to watch for prey. Perhaps you may be able to put me on some more expeditious mode of passage than the one under which I am acquiescing at present. I shall be much pleased to adopt any such which may come recommended from you, without regard to personal risk or trouble. In the meantime, any intelligence which you can collect and will be pleased to give me as to the state of our coast, will be of utility in determining whether and when we shall depart hence.

I have the honor to be with very great esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

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P. S. Your letter of the 31st ultimo came safely to hand with the packet to Mr. Adams accompanying it.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THE HONORABLE THOMAS JEFFERSON.

NEWBURGH, 10th February, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I have been honored with your favor of 22d of January from Philadelphia. I feel myself much flattered by your kind remembrance of me in the hour of your departure from this continent, for the favorable sentiments you are pleased to entertain of my services for this our common country. To merit the approbation of good and virtuous men is the height of my ambition, and will be a full compensation for all my toils and sufferings in the long and painful contest in which we have been engaged. It gave me great pleasure to hear that the call upon you from Congress to pass the Atlantic in the character of one of their ministers for negotiating peace had been repeated; but I hope you will have found the business already done. The speech of his Britannic Majesty is strongly indicative of the olive branch; and yet, as he observes, unforeseen events may place it out of reach. At present, the prospect of peace absorbs, or seems to do so, every other consideration among us; and would, it is to be feared, leave us in a very unprepared state to continue the war, if the negotiations at Paris should terminate

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otherwise than in a general pacification. But I will hope that it is the dearth of other news that fills the mouths of every person with peace, while their minds are employed in contemplating on the means of prosecuting the war, if necessity should drive us to it. You will please to accept my grateful thanks for your obliging offer of services during your stay in France. To hear from you frequently will be an honor and very great satisfaction to, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, 14th February, 1783.

SIR,—I have delayed in answering your favor of the 7th instant until I could obtain the sense of Congress on the matter it contains. I conceive it hardly possible, while the British cruisers retain their present station, for you to elude their vigilance in either of the ships offered to your choice. This, concurring with the late advices from England, has induced Congress to pass the enclosed resolution.[1] We have

[1] BY THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

February 14, 1783.

The committee consisting of Mr. Jones, Mr. Rutledge, and Mr. Wilson, to whom was referred a letter of the 7th from the Honorable Thomas Jefferson, reported thereon, whereupon on motion of Mr. Gorham, seconded by Mr. Wolcott, ordered: That the Secretary for Foreign Affairs inform Mr. Jefferson, that it is the pleasure of Congress, considering the advices lately received in America and the probable situation of affairs in Europe, that he do not proceed on his intended voyage until he shall receive their further instructions.

CHARLES THOMPSON, (copied)
Secretary.

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reason to conjecture that peace is already concluded; whether it is or not, a few days will determine. I transmit the speech of his Britannic Majesty, which, with what you already know of the state of our negotiations, will enable you to form your opinion on the same ground that we do. I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect and esteem, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO R. R. LIVINGSTON.

BALTIMORE, February 14, 1783.

SIR,—I apprised you in my former letter of the causes which had so long delayed my departure. These still continue. I have this moment received a printed copy of his British Majesty's speech to his Parliament, by which we learn that the preliminaries between Great Britain and America, among which is one for the acknowledgment of our independence, have been provisionally agreed to on his part. That the negotiations with the other powers at war were considerably advanced, and that he hoped, in a very short time, they would end in terms of pacification. As considerable progress has been made in the negotiations for peace since the appointment with which Congress were pleased to honor me, it may have become doubtful whether any communications I could make or any assistance I could yield to the very able gentlemen in whose hands the business already is, would compensate the expense of prose-

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cuting my voyage to Europe. I therefore beg leave through you, Sir, to assure Congress that I desire this question to be as open to them now as it was on the day of my appointment, and that I have not a wish either to go or to stay. They will be pleased to weigh the economy of the one measure against the chance which the other may offer of my arriving in such time as that any communications which have been confided to me may produce effect on definitive articles. I shall continue here for the prosecution of my voyage, under the orders before received, or for its discontinuance, should that be more eligible to Congress, and be signified at any moment before my departure. I have the honor to be, &c.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, February 18, 1783.

SIR,—I was yesterday honored with your favor of the 14th, which I shall lay before Congress this morning. As you have by this time received their resolution which I had the honor to send you by the last post, and again enclosed, you will be relieved in some measure from your embarrassments, though not entirely of your suspense with respect to their final determination. But that cannot be long doubtful, since the negotiations have certainly arrived at such a crisis as either to terminate soon in a peace or a total rupture. In the latter case, you will necessarily be obliged to proceed on your voyage, as Congress

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seems anxious to avail themselves of your abilities and information in the negotiations, unless they are fully assured that a speedy peace will preclude them from that advantage.

I enclose a paper which contains all that we have yet received on that interesting subject. It may, perhaps, be difficult to account for our ministers having signed before those of France. But if this letter is genuine, it serves, when compared with their instructions, to prove that the terms of peace are acceptable to us and not disagreeable to France. I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect and esteem, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE HON. R. R. LIVINGSTON.

PHILADELPHIA, March 13, 1783.

SIR,—Supposing the despatches received by the Washington, may have enabled Congress to decide on the expediency of continuing, or of countermanding my mission to Europe, I take the liberty of expressing to you the satisfaction it will give me to receive their ultimate will, so soon as other business will permit them to revert to this subject.[1] I have the honor, &c.

[1 The following resolution was passed by Congress relative to Mr. Jefferson's mission to Europe.—ED.]

BY THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

April 1st, 1783.

Resolved, That the Secretary for Foreign Affairs inform the Hon. Thomas Jefferson, in answer to his letter of the 13th of March, that

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TO JOHN JAY.

PHILADELPHIA, April 11, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—In a letter which I did myself the honor of writing to you by the Chevalier de Chattellux, I informed you of my being at this place, with the intention of joining you in Paris. But the uncommon vigilance of the enemy's cruisers, immediately after the departure of the French fleet, deterred every vessel from attempting to go out. The arrival of the preliminaries soon after showed the impropriety of my proceeding, and I am just now setting out on my return to Virginia. I cannot, however, take my departure, without paying to yourself and your worthy colleague my homage for the good work you have completed for us, and congratulating you on the singular happiness of having borne so distinguished a part both in the earliest and latest transactions of this revolution. The terms obtained for us are indeed great, and are so deemed by your country—a few ill-designing debtors excepted. I am in hopes you will continue at some one of the European courts most agreeable to yourself, that we may still have the benefit of your talents. I took the liberty

Congress consider the object of his appointment so far advanced as to render it unnecessary for him to pursue his voyage, and that Congress are well satisfied with the readiness he has shown in undertaking a service which from the present situation of affairs they apprehend can be dispensed with. Extracts from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMPSON, (copied)
Secretary.

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in my letter of suggesting a wish that you would be so kind as to engage lodgings for me. Should you have given yourself this trouble, I beg leave to return you my thanks, and to ask the favor of you to communicate the amount of their hire to Mr. Robert Morris, of this city, who will immediately remit it to you, as I lodge money in his hands for this purpose. Accept my warmest wishes for your happiness, and be assured of the sincerity with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

P. S. I beg to be affectionately remembered to Dr. F. and Mr. A., if they be still with you.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

ANNAPOLIS, April 16, 1784.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of April 8th, by Colonel Harrison. The subject of it is interesting, and, so far as you have stood connected with it, has been matter of anxiety to me; because, whatever may be the ultimate fate of the institution of the Cincinnati, in its course, it draws to it some degree of disapprobation. I have wished to see you standing on ground separated from it, and that the character which will be handed to future ages at the head of our Revolution, may, in no instance, be compromitted in subordinate altercations. The subject has been at the point of my pen in every letter I have

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written to you, but has been still restrained by the reflection that you had among your friends more able counsellors, and, in yourself, one abler than them all. Your letter has now rendered a duty what was before a desire, and I cannot better merit your confidence than by a full and free communication of facts and sentiments, as far as they have come within my observation. When the army was about to be disbanded, and the officers to take final leave, perhaps never again to meet, it was natural for men who had accompanied each other through so many scenes of hardship, of difficulty, and danger, who, in a variety of instances, must have been rendered mutually dear by those aids and good offices, to which their situations had given occasion; it was natural, I say, for these to seize with fondness any proposition which promised to bring them together again, at certain and regular periods. And this, I take for granted, was the origin and object of this institution; and I have no suspicion that they foresaw, much less intended, those mischiefs which exist, perhaps in the forebodings of politicians only. I doubt, however, whether, in its execution, it would be found to answer the wishes of those who framed it, and to foster those friendships it was intended to preserve. The members would be brought together at their annual assemblies, no longer to encounter a common enemy, but to encounter one another in debate and sentiment. For something, I suppose, is to be done at these meetings, and, however unimportant, it will

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suffice to produce difference of opinion, contradiction and irritation. The way to make friends quarrel is to put them in disputation under the public eye. An experience of near twenty years has taught me, that few friendships stand this test, and that public assemblies, where every one is free to act and speak, are the most powerful looseners of the bands of private friendship. I think, therefore, that this institution would fail in its principal object, the perpetuation of the personal friendships contracted through the war.

The objections of those who are opposed to the institution shall be briefly sketched. You will readily fill them up. They urge that it is against the Confederation—against the letter of some of our constitutions—against the spirit of all of them;—that the foundation on which all these are built, is the natural equality of man, the denial of every pre-eminence but that annexed to legal office, and, particularly, the denial of a pre-eminence by birth; that, however, in their present dispositions, citizens might decline accepting honorary instalments into the order, a time may come, when a change of dispositions would render these flattering, when a well-directed distribution of them might draw into the order all the men of talents, of office and wealth, and in this case, would probably procure an ingraftment into the government; that in this, they will be supported by their foreign members, and the wishes and influence of foreign courts; that experience has

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shown that the hereditary branches of modern governments are the patrons of privilege and prerogative, and not of the natural rights of the people, whose oppressors they generally are; that, besides these evils, which are remote, others may take place more immediately; that a distinction is kept up between the civil and military, which it is for the happiness of both to obliterate; that when the members assemble they will be proposing to do something, and what that something may be, will depend on actual circumstances; that being an organized body, under habits of subordination, the first obstruction to enterprise will be already surmounted; that the moderation and virtue of a single character have probably prevented this Revolution from being closed, as most others have been, by a subversion of that liberty it was intended to establish; that he is not immortal, and his successor, or some of his successors, may be led by false calculation into a less certain road to glory.

What are the sentiments of Congress on this subject, and what line they will pursue, can only be stated conjecturally. Congress, as a body, if left to themselves, will, in my opinion, say nothing on the subject. They may, however, be forced into a declaration by instructions from some of the States, or by other incidents. Their sentiments, if forced from them, will be unfriendly to the institution. If permitted to pursue their own path, they will check it by side-blows whenever it comes in their way, and

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in competitions for office, on equal or nearly equal ground, will give silent preferences to those who are not of the fraternity. My reasons for thinking this are, 1. The grounds on which they lately declined the foreign order proposed to be conferred on some of our citizens. 2. The fourth of the fundamental articles of constitution for the new States. I enclose you the report; it has been considered by Congress, recommitted and reformed by a committee, according to sentiments expressed on other parts of it, but the principle referred to, having not been controverted at all, stands in this as in the original report; it is not yet confirmed by Congress. 3. Private conversations on this subject with the members. Since the receipt of your letter, I have taken occasion to extend these; not, indeed, to the military members, because, being of the order, delicacy forbade it, but to the others pretty generally; and among these, I have as yet found but one who is not opposed to the institution, and that with an anguish of mind, though covered under a guarded silence, which I have not seen produced by any circumstance before. I arrived at Philadelphia before the separation of the last Congress, and saw there and at Princeton some of its members, not now in delegation. Burke's piece happened to come out at that time, which occasioned this institution to be the subject of conversation. I found the same impressions made on them which their successors have received. I hear from other quarters that it

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is disagreeable, generally, to such citizens as have attended to it, and, therefore, will probably be so to all, when any circumstance shall present it to the notice of all.

This, Sir, is as faithful an account of sentiments and facts as I am able to give you. You know the extent of the circle within which my observations are at present circumscribed, and can estimate how far, as forming a part of the general opinion, it may merit notice, or ought to influence your particular conduct.

It remains now to pay obedience to that part of your letter, which requests sentiments on the most eligible measures to be pursued by the society, at their next meeting. I must be far from pretending to be a judge of what would, in fact, be the most eligible measures for the society. I can only give you the opinions of those with whom I have conversed, and who, as I have before observed, are unfriendly to it. They lead to these conclusions: 1. If the society proceed according to its institution, it will be better to make no applications to Congress on that subject, or any other, in their associated character. 2. If they should propose to modify it, so as to render it unobjectionable, I think this would not be effected without such a modification as would amount almost to annihilation; for such would it be to part with its inheritability, its organization, and its assemblies. 3. If they shall be disposed to discontinue the whole, it would remain with them to

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determine whether they would choose it to be done by their own act only, or by a reference of the matter to Congress, which would infallibly produce a recommendation of total discontinuance.

You will be sensible, Sir, that these communications are without reserve. I supposed such to be your wish, and mean them but as materials, with such others as you may collect, for your better judgment to work on. I consider the whole matter as between ourselves alone, having determined to take no active part in this or anything else, which may lead to altercation, or disturb that quiet and tranquillity of mind, to which I consign the remaining portion of my life. I have been thrown back by events, on a stage where I had never more thought to appear.[1] It is but for a time, however, and as a

[1 Mr. Jefferson being released from his mission to Europe on account of the news of peace, and having returned to Virginia, was again appointed by the Legislature a delegate to Congress on the 6th of June, 1783. On the 3d of the following November he arrived at Trenton, where Congress was then sitting, and took his seat on the 4th, on which day that body adjourned to meet at Annapolis on the 26th. Mr. Jefferson remained in the discharge of his duties as a delegate until the 7th of May, 1784, when Congress, having determined to add a third minister plenipotentiary to Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin, conferred the appointment on him. On the 6th of August, 1784, he reached Paris. The purpose for which he had been associated with Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin was to negotiate commercial treaties with the European nations. In June, 1785, Mr. Adams removed to London as our minister at that court, and Dr. Franklin obtained permission to return to America, thus leaving Mr. Jefferson our only representative at Paris in the character of minister plenipotentiary. Here he remained until the 26th of September, 1789, something more than five years, when he took leave of Paris, and landed at Norfolk in the latter part of November.—Ed.]

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day laborer, free to withdraw, or be withdrawn at will. While I remain, I shall pursue in silence the path of right, but in every situation, public or private, I shall be gratified by all occasions of rendering you service, and of convincing you there is no one to whom your reputation and happiness are dearer than to, Sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant.

The following letters,[1] *written by Jefferson before his mission to Europe, were not included in the Congressional Edition of* 1853:

TO WILLIAM FLEMING.[2]

RICHMOND, 1763.

DEAR WILL,—From a crowd of disagreeable companions, among whom I have spent three or four of the most tedious hours of my life, I retire into Gunn's bed-chamber to converse in black and white with an absent friend. I heartily wish you were here that I might converse with a Christian once more before I die; for die I must this night unless I should be relieved by the arrival of some sociable fellow. But I will now endeavor to forget my present sufferings and think of what is more agreeable to both of us. Last

[1] These letters, however, were included in an edition of Jefferson's Writings edited by the late Paul Leicester Ford. This edition, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, was limited to 750 sets, and is now out of print.

[2] This letter was first published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, and was probably written by Jefferson in Richmond during the month of September, 1763.

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Saturday I left Ned Carters where I had been happy in other good company, but particularly that of Miss Jenny Taliaferro: and though I can view the beauties of this world with the most philosophical indifference, I could not but be sensible of the justice of the character you had given me of her. She is in my opinion a great resemblance of Nancy Wilton, but prettier. I was vastly pleased with her playing on the spinnette and singing, but could not help calling to mind those sublime verses of the Cumberland genius.

> Oh! I was charmed to see
> Orpheus' music all in thee.

When you see Patsy Dandridge, tell her "God bless her." I do not like the ups and downs of a country life: to-day you are frolicking with a fine girl and to-morrow you are moping by yourself. Thank God! I shall shortly be where my happiness will be less interrupted. I shall salute all the girls below in your name, particularly Sukey Potter. Dear Will, I have thought of the cleverest plan of life that can be imagined. You exchange lands for Edgehill, or I mine for Fairfields, you marry S——y P——r, I marry R——a B——l join and get a pole chair and a pair of keen horses, practise the law in the same courts, and drive about to all the dances in the country together. How do you like it? Well I am sorry you are at such a distance I cannot hear your answer, but however you must let me know it by the first oppor-

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tunity, and all the other news in the world which you imagine will affect me. I am, dear Will,

Yours affectionately,

TO COLONEL WILLIAM PRESTON.[1]

STAUNTON, Aug. 18, 1768.

DEAR SIR,—I sit down to petition your suffrage in favor of a friend whose virtues and abilities have made him much to me, and will give him equal place in your esteem whenever you have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with them. The gentleman I speak of is the Rev. James Fontaine, who offers himself as a candidate for the place of chaplain to the House of Burgesses. I do not wish to derogate from the merit of the gentleman who possessed the office last, but I cannot help hoping that every friend of genius, when the other qualities of the competitors are equal, will give a preference to superior abilities; integrity of heart and purity of manners recommend Messrs. Price and Fontaine equally to our esteem, but in acuteness of penetration, accuracy of judgment, elegance of composition, propriety of performing the divine service, and in every work of genius, the former is left a great distance behind the latter. I do not ask your favor on a bare assurance of this from me, but from that knowledge of Mr. Fontaine's superiority, which you will obtain on enquiring of

[1] The original of this letter belongs to the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York.

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others. I have heard that the other has been possessed of the office; an argument which with you will need no confutation. These small preferments should be reserved to reward and encourage genius, and not be strewed with an indiscriminating hand among the common herd of competitors.

TO PEYTON RANDOLPH.

ALBEMARLE, July 23, 1770.

HONORABLE SIR,—I am to beg the favor of your friendly interposition in the following case, which I hope you will think sufficient to excuse the freedom of the application. Some time last fall Mr. Jas. Ogilvie purposing to go for orders made the usual application to the commissary for his recommendatory letter to the bishop. The commissary finding him somewhat deficient in his Greek expressed some doubts whether he could recommend him. Ogilvie to remove them did, without thought to be sure, make use of a very unfortunate argument, mentioning to the commissary the case of Stevenson who without understanding a word of Greek had been lately recommended. The commissary took flame at the hint and peremptorily refused his recommendation. In several subsequent visits Ogilvie attempted to soften him and did at length prevail so far as to obtain a promise that he would not oppose his ordination with the bishop. With this assurance, and with an actual nomination to a parish in his pocket he took his

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departure. But whether the commissary's frame is such as that he does not feel the obligations of an engagement or whether he really thought he had done wrong in entering it I cannot say, but before Ogilvie reached London he had lodged a letter with the bishop in which were these words "Mr. Ogilvie applied to me last spring for a recommendation to your Lordship for holy orders. For reasons which then existed I refused him. He has now applied to me a second time, as these reasons are not removed I have denied him again but he goes home in opposition." Nothing could have been more artfully contrived to do him a prejudice. The bishop observed to Colonel Mercer, who had espoused Ogilvie's interest with some warmth that had Mr. Horrocks mentioned his objections, it would have left him to judge whether they were such as he might have overlooked; but that a charge so general laid his whole character open to censure in such a manner as to put it out of his power to vindicate it. This young gentleman seems to have been guided through life by the hand of misfortune itself. Some hard fatality which presides over all his measures has rendered abortive every scheme which either his prudence or the anxiety of his friends have ever proposed for his advancement. His present undertaking was peculiarly unfortunate. Before he went to London he paid a visit to his father a Presbyterian minister in Aberdeen, who received him with all the joy with which an absence of many years could in-

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spire a parent. Yet, so wonderful is the dominion of bigotry over her votaries that on the first information of his purpose to receive Episcopal ordination he shut him from his doors and abjured every parental duty. Thus rejected by that hand from which he had expected some assistance necessary even for the short residence on that side of the water which he had then in contemplation he hastened to London, and there received the last stroke which fortune had in reserve for him. The distresses of his situation operating on a mind uncommonly sensible to the pains as well as to the pleasures of life may be conceived even by those to whom fortune has been kinder. There he still remains then, and there he must remain (for it is his last stake) till the commissary can be prevailed on either to withdraw his opposition or to explain the grounds of it, or till we can take such other measures as may counteract its malignity. The former is the easier and shorter relief to Ogilvie's distress and it is not impossible but that the commissary may by this time be disposed to assist him. For this purpose I have ventured to ask your interposition with him on behalf of this gentleman in whose cause I have warm feelings. This liberty I have taken with you not on any assumed rights of friendship or acquaintance, but merely on the principles of common humanity to which his situation seems to recommend him, and on the hope that you will think with the good man in the play "homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto." I

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have no interest at our Episcopal palace, and, indeed, any application if known to come from me would rather be of disservice. I flatter myself your interposition there would have certain effect, and assure you it would lay me under lasting obligations. I suppose the most certain assistance would be a letter from the commissary to the bishop. But one thing I must conjure you to do, to see the letter yourself, that you may judge whether it be really friendly or not. I confess to you, Mr. Speaker, that I put not the least confidence in the most solemn promises of this reverend gentleman. And unless yourself can be assured of the security of his endeavors I had rather proceed at once in such measures as may answer our purpose though "in opposition." After your application I have one further favor to ask of you, that if it is unsuccessful you will give me notice by a line lodged in the post office, if successful (as I doubt not but it will be) you would be so kind as to inclose his letter under cover to Ogilvie, and direct to him at Mrs. Ballard's Hungerford street in the Strand London; as this would be a more speedy communication of relief to him than sending the letter via Albemarle. I have no proffers to make you in return for all this trouble; fortune seems to have reserved your obligations for herself. You have nothing to ask, I nothing to give. I can only assure you then that I sincerely rejoice in the independence of your situation; I mean an independence of all but your own merit, than which I am sure you cannot have a more

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permanent dependence. I am Sir with much truth your very humble servant.

TO THOMAS ADAMS.[1]

MONTICELLO, Feb. 20, 1771.

DEAR SIR,—Not expecting to have the pleasure of seeing you again before you leave the country, I inclose you an order on the inspectors at Shockoe for two hogsheads of tobacco which I consign to you, and give you also the trouble of shipping as I am too far from the spot to do it myself. They are to be laid out in the purchase of the articles on the back hereof. You will observe that part of these articles (such as are licensed by the association) are to be sent at any event. Another part (being prohibited) are only to be sent if the tea act should be repealed before you get home; if it is not, you will observe a third class to be sent instead of those which are prohibited. I am not without expectation that the repeal may take place. I believe the parliament want nothing but a colorable motive to adopt this measure. The conduct of our brethren of New York affords them this. You will observe by my invoice that I have supposed my tobacco to clear me £50 sterling per hogshead; should it be less, dock the invoice of such articles as you think I may get in the country.—In consequence of your recommendation I wrote to Waller last June

[1] Originally published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 81, p. 205.

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for £45 sterling worth of books inclosing him a bill of exchange to that amount. Having written to Benson Pearson for another parcel of nearly the same amount, I directed him to purchase them also of Waller. I acquainted both of the necessity of my situation brought on by the unlucky loss of my library, and pressed them most earnestly to lose not a day in sending them; yet I have heard not a tittle from either gentleman.—I mentioned to you that I had become one of several securities for a gentleman of my acquaintance lately engaged in trade. I hope and, indeed, hear he is doing very well; I would not, therefore, take any step to wound his credit; but as far as it can possibly be done without affecting that, I must beg you to have me secured. It can surely do no mischief to see that his remittances are placed to the credit of the money for which we stand engaged, and not of any new importations of goods made afterwards. I must rely entirely on your friendly assistance in the matter, which I assure you gives me concern, as should my friend prove unsuccessful, (and ill fortune may render any person unsuccessful,) it might sweep away the whole of my little fortune.—I must once more trouble you for my friend Ogilvie. The commissary promised to write in his favor to the bishop by Neeks. I did not see his letter, and with this gentleman I believe no farther than I see. I wrote by the same opportunity to Ogilvie and apprised him of the commissary's engagement. Should your route to the ship be through

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Williamsburgh I would trouble you to know whether he has in truth written or not. The inclosed letter to Ogilvie you will please to deliver with our most earnest advice that he lose not a day in coming over. —One farther favor and I am done; to search the Herald's office for the arms of my family. I have what I have been told were the family arms, but on what authority I know not. It is possible there may be none. If so, I would with your assistance become a purchaser, having Sterne's word for it that a coat of arms may be purchased as cheap as any other coat.—The things I have desired you to purchase for me I would beg you to hasten, particularly the Clavichord, which I have directed to be purchased in Hamburgh, because they are better made there, and much cheaper. Leave me a line before you go away with instructions how to direct to you.

TO JAMES OGILVIE.[1]

MONTICELLO, Feb. 20, 1771.

DEAR OGILVIE,—I wrote you a line from Williamsburgh last October; but lest that may have miscarried I take this opportunity of repeating what was material in that. On receipt of your letter (and, oh shame! of your only letter) of March 28, 1770, which came not to hand till August we took proper measures for prevailing on the commissary to withdraw his opposition. But lest you should be uneasy

[1] From the collection of Miss Sarah N. Randolph.

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in your situation in the mean time I directed Mr. T. Adams by the means of his partners Perkins and Brown to let you know they would answer any calls from you. In this your friend Mr. Walker insisted on joining me. In October I transmitted to the commissary a certificate of your conduct in life, on which he promised to write in your favor by Neeks, and though I did not see the letter I expect he did. By the same opportunity I wrote to you inclosing a duplicate of the certificate of which you might avail yourself if the commissary should fail us again. About the same time I wrote from Williamsburgh to a gentleman of the vestry in Orange to secure for you a vacancy which had happened in that parish by the death of Martin. I have had no answer, but the parish is still vacant, which gives me hopes it is kept for you. Mr. Maury incumbent in Fredericksville parish (of which I was when you were here) has a tempting offer from another quarter. I know not whether he will accept of it. If he should we shall do for you all that can be done in your absence. But for God's sake let not that be a moment longer than is of absolute necessity. Your settlement here would make your friends happy, and I think would be agreeable to yourself. Your Dulcinea is in health. Her brother T. Strachan is settled with Y. Walker for life. Another reason for her and you to wish for a residence with us. He is wishing to take to himself a wife; and nothing obstructs it but the unfeeling temper of a parent who delays, perhaps refuses

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to approve her daughter's choice. I, too, am in that way; and have still greater difficulties to encounter not from the forwardness of parents, nor perhaps want of feeling in the fair one, but from other causes as unpliable to my wishes as these. Since you left us I was unlucky enough to lose the house in which we lived, and in which all its contents were consumed. A very few books, two or three beds, etc., were with difficulty saved from the flames. I have lately removed to the mountain from whence this is dated, and with which you are not unacquainted. I have here but one room, which, like the cobblers, serves me for parlour, for kitchen and hall. I may add, for bedchamber and study, too. My friends sometimes take a temperate dinner with me and then retire to look for beds elsewhere. I have hope, however, of getting more elbow room this summer. But be this as may happen, whether my tenements be great or small, homely or elegant they will always receive you with a hearty welcome. If anything should obstruct your setting out immediately for Virginia I would beg the favor of you to send the things I asked of you to purchase by some careful captain coming on James river. Such of them as were for my buildings, or for house keeping I am particularly in want of. Nothing material occurs relative to the health and fortunes of your friends here. They are well in both as far as I can recollect them. I conclude my epistle with every wish for your felicity which friendship can inspire. Adieu and believe me to be yours sincerely.

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TO INGLIS AND LONG, MERCHANTS AT PORTSMOUTH.[1]

WILLIAMSBURGH, May 11, 1771.

GENTLEMEN,—Yours of the eighth of April I have received, and since that your favour of five pounds as counsel for Messrs. Cunningham and Nisbett at the suit of Jamieson and Taylor. Before we can regularly proceed to take any proofs in the cause it will be necessary for Messrs. Cunningham and Nisbett to send us their answer denying or admitting the several charges in the bill as far as their own knowledge enables them. For this purpose a copy of the bill should be transmitted them. The answer must be sworn to before some justice of the peace, and that he is such must be certified under the seal of their province. As soon as I shall receive the answer immediate care shall be taken to send a commission for the examination of any witnesses Messrs. Cunningham and Nisbett may choose to call on, with directions what matters it will most avail them to prove. This I shall be the better enabled to do when their answer shall have appraised me of the nature of their defence.

With respect to the part yourselves are to act, it will be very plain, as you are not concerned in interest. You must declare what effects of Cunningham and Nisbett you have in your hands, and submit them to the direction of the Court. If you will be pleased by way of letter to state these matters to me

[1] From the collection of Mrs. J. W. Drexel.

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I will put them into the usual form of answers and return them to be sworn to. Any further instructions you may think proper to give in this matter shall be diligently attended to by, Gentlemen, your very humble servant.

TO THOMAS ADAMS.[1]

MONTICELLO, June 1, 1771.

DEAR SIR,—As it was somewhat doubtful when you left the country how far my little invoice delivered you might be complied with till we should know the fate of the association, I desired you to withhold purchasing the things till you should hear farther from me. The day appointed for the meeting of the associates is not yet arrived; however from the universal sense of those who are likely to attend, it seems reduced to a certainty that the restrictions will be taken off everything but the dutied articles. I will, therefore, venture to desire that branch of my invoice may be complied with in which were some shoes and other prohibited articles; since if contrary to our expectations the restrictions should be continued, I can store, or otherwise dispose of them as our committees please. I must alter one article in the invoice. I wrote therein for a Clavichord. I have since seen a Forte-piano and am charmed with it. Send me this instrument then

[1] Originally published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 81, p. 206.

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instead of the Clavichord: let the case be of fine mahogany, solid, not veneered, the compass from Double G. to F. in alt, a plenty of spare strings; and the workmanship of the whole very handsome and worthy the acceptance of a lady for whom I intend it. I must add also ½ dozen pair India cotton stockings for myself @ 10/ sterling per pair, ½ dozen pair best white silk do.; and a large umbrella with brass ribs, covered with green silk, and neatly finished. By this change of the Clavichord into a Forte-piano and addition of the other things, I shall be brought in debt to you, to discharge which I will ship you of the first tobacco I get to the warehouse in the fall. I expect by that time, and also from year to year afterwards, I must send you an invoice, with tobacco, somewhat enlarged, as I have it in prospect to become more regularly a pater-familias.—I desired the favor of you to procure me an architect. I must repeat the request earnestly, and that you will send him in as soon as you can.—I shall conclude with one petition: that you send me the articles contained in my invoice and written for above as soon as you receive this, as I suppose they may be bought ready made; and particularly the Forte-piano, for which I shall be very impatient. By this means I may get them in October, which will prevent my being obliged to purchase as I must do if they do not come in time.

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TO ROBERT SKIPWITH.

MONTICELLO, Aug. 3, 1771.

I sat down with a design of executing your request to form a catalogue of books to the amount of about 50 lib. sterling. But could by no means satisfy myself with any partial choice I could make. Thinking, therefore, it might be as agreeable to you I have framed such a general collection as I think you would wish and might in time find convenient to procure. Out of this you will choose for yourself to the amount you mentioned for the present year and may hereafter as shall be convenient proceed in completing the whole. A view of the second column in this catalogue would I suppose extort a smile from the face of gravity. Peace to its wisdom! Let me not awaken it. A little attention however to the nature of the human mind evinces that the entertainments of fiction are useful as well as pleasant. That they are pleasant when well written every person feels who reads. But wherein is its utility asks the reverend sage, big with the notion that nothing can be useful but the learned lumber of Greek and Roman reading with which his head is stored?

I answer, everything is useful which contributes to fix in the principles and practices of virtue. When any original act of charity or of gratitude, for instance, is presented either to our sight or imagination, we are deeply impressed with its beauty and feel a strong desire in ourselves of doing charitable and

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grateful acts also. On the contrary when we see or read of any atrocious deed, we are disgusted with its deformity, and conceive an abhorrence of vice. Now every emotion of this kind is an exercise of our virtuous dispositions, and dispositions of the mind, like limbs of the body acquire strength by exercise. But exercise produces habit, and in the instance of which we speak the exercise being of the moral feelings produces a habit of thinking and acting virtuously. We never reflect whether the story we read be truth or fiction. If the painting be lively, and a tolerable picture of nature, we are thrown into a reverie, from which if we awaken it is the fault of the writer. I appeal to every reader of feeling and sentiment whether the fictitious murder of Duncan by Macbeth in Shakespeare does not excite in him as great a horror of villany, as the real one of Henry IV. by Ravaillac as related by Davila? And whether the fidelity of Nelson and generosity of Blandford in Marmontel do not dilate his breast and elevate his sentiments as much as any similar incident which real history can furnish? Does he not in fact feel himself a better man while reading them, and privately covenant to copy the fair example? We neither know nor care whether Lawrence Sterne really went to France, whether he was there accosted by the Franciscan, at first rebuked him unkindly, and then gave him a peace offering: or whether the whole be not fiction. In either case we equally are sorrowful at the rebuke, and secretly resolve *we* will

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never do so: we are pleased with the subsequent atonement, and view with emulation a soul candidly acknowledging its fault and making a just reparation. Considering history as a moral exercise, her lessons would be too infrequent if confined to real life. Of those recorded by historians few incidents have been attended with such circumstances as to excite in any high degree this sympathetic emotion of virtue. We are, therefore, wisely framed to be as warmly interested for a fictitious as for a real personage. The field of imagination is thus laid open to our use and lessons may be formed to illustrate and carry home to the heart every moral rule of life. Thus a lively and lasting sense of filial duty is more effectually impressed on the mind of a son or daughter by reading King Lear, than by all the dry volumes of ethics, and divinity that ever were written. This is my idea of well written Romance, of Tragedy, Comedy and Epic poetry.—If you are fond of speculation the books under the head of Criticism will afford you much pleasure. Of Politics and Trade I have given you a few only of the best books, as you would probably choose to be not unacquainted with those commercial principles which bring wealth into our country, and the constitutional security we have for the enjoyment of that wealth. In Law I mention a few systematical books, as a knowledge of the minutiae of that science is not necessary for a private gentleman. In Religion, History, Natural philosophy, I have followed the same plan in general.—But

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whence the necessity of this collection? Come to the new Rowanty, from which you may reach your hand to a library formed on a more extensive plan. Separated from each other but a few paces the possessions of each would be open to the other. A spring centrically situated might be the scene of every evening's joy. There we should talk over the lessons of the day, or lose them in music, chess or the merriments of our family companions. The heart thus lightened our pillows would be soft, and health and long life would attend the happy scene. Come then and bring our dear Tibby with you, the first in your affections, and second in mine. Offer prayers for me, too, at that shrine to which though absent I pray continual devotions. In every scheme of happiness she is placed in the foreground of the picture, as the principal figure. Take that away, and it is no picture for me. Bear my affections to Wintipock clothed in the warmest expressions of sincerity; and to yourself be every human felicity. Adieu.

TO MESSRS. INGLIS AND LONG, MERCHANTS AT PORTSMOUTH.[1]

WILLIAMSBURGH, June 11, 1772.

GENTLEMEN,—I have just received notice from Mr. Wythe that in the case of Jamieson and Taylor *v.* Meredith and others he will move at the next

[1] From the collection of Dr. J. S. H. Fogg, of Boston, Mass.

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court to have the effects delivered in to the plaintiff's hands. I have not yet had time to enquire whether such steps have been yet taken as will entitle him to do this. However it is better that your correspondents prevent it which cannot be done with certainty but by their sending in their answers in proper form before the next court. I am this moment leaving town having just taken time to inform you of this measure.

TO WILLIAM FLEMING.[1]

May 19, 1773. MRS. CARR'S.[2]

DEAR FLEMING,—You have before this heard and lamented the death of our good friend Carr.[3] Some steps are necessary to be immediately taken on behalf of his clients. You practised in all his courts except Chesterfield and Albemarle. I shall think I cannot better serve them than by putting their papers into your hands if you will be so good as to take them. I once mentioned to you the court of Albemarle as worthy your attention. If you choose now to go there I would get you to take his papers for that court also. They put you in possession of a valuable business. The king's attorney's place is vacant there, and might be worth your soliciting. If you think so you should dispatch an express for

[1] Printed in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, vol. III, p. 305.

[2] Jefferson's sister's home in Charlottesville.

[3] Dabney Carr was Jefferson's brother-in-law. He died May 16, 1773.

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commission. Otherwise you may be prevented. Write me a line in answer to this and lodge it here within a week, as I shall about that time call here to take the law papers and put them into some channel. Your assistance in these matters will oblige, dear Fleming, your friend and humble servant.

TO FRANCIS EPPES.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, June 26th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—You will before this have heard that the war is now heartily entered into, without a prospect of accommodation but through the effectual interposition of arms. General Gage has received considerable reinforcements, though not to the whole amount of what was expected. There has lately been an action at the outlet of the town of Boston.[2] The particulars we have not yet been able to get with certainty; the event, however, was considerably in our favor as to the numbers killed. Our account says we had between 40 and 70 killed and 140 wounded. The enemy has certainly 500 wounded and the same account supposes that number killed; but judging from the proportion of wounded and slain on our part, they should not have perhaps above two hundred killed. This happened on Saturday, and on Monday, when the express came away, the provincials had begun to make another attack.

[1] Originally published in Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. III, p. 567.
[2] Refers to the battle of Bunker's Hill.

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Washington set out from here on Friday last as generalissimo of all the provincial troops in North America. Ward and Lee were appointed major-generals and Gates adjutant. We are exceedingly anxious till we hear of their arrival at Boston, as it is evident to every one that the provincial encampment is the most injudicious that can possibly be conceived. For the sole purpose of covering two small towns near Boston they have encamped so near the line of the ministerial army that the sentries may converse. Gage, too, being well fortified, is in little danger of an attack from them; while their situation is such that he may attack them when he pleases, and if he is unsuccessful, they cannot pursue him a foot scarcely, on account of the ships and floating batteries bearing on the Neck of Boston. If no evil arises from this till General Washington arrives, we may expect to hear of his withdrawing the provincial troops to a greater distance. The Congress have directed 20,000 men to be raised, and hope by a vigorous campaign to dispose our enemies to treaty. Governor Carleton has been spiriting up the Canadian Indians to fall on our back settlements; but this we hope will be prevented. Governor Skeene, appointed to take charge of the fortresses on the lakes, was intercepted here, as we had already taken possession of those fortifications and provided a Governor, there was no occasion for him to proceed. He is now, therefore, our prisoner. My best affections attend Mrs. Eppes and family.

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TO FRANCIS EPPES.

PHILADELPHIA, July 4th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Since my last, nothing new has happened. Our accounts of the battle of Charleston have become clear, and greatly to our satisfaction. Contrary to what usually happens, the first account were below truth; and it is now certain that the regulars have had between 1200 and 1400 killed and wounded in that engagement, and that of these 500 were killed. Major Pitcairn is among the slain, at which everybody rejoices, as he was the commanding officer at Lexington, was the first who fired his own piece there and gave the command to fire. Among those was a Doctor Warren, a man who seems to have been immensely valued at the North. The New-Englanders are fitting out light vessels of war, by which it is hoped we shall not only clear the seas and bays here of everything below the size of a ship of war, but that they will visit the coasts of Europe and distress the British trade in every part of the world. The adventurous genius and intrepidity of those people is amazing. They are now intent on burning Boston as a hive which gives cover to regulars; and none are more bent upon it than the very people who came out of it and whose prosperity lies there. This, however, if done at all, it is thought better to defer till the cold season is coming on, as it would then lay them under irremediable distress.

[1] Originally published in Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. III, p. 568.

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Powder seems now to be our only difficulty, and towards getting plenty of that nothing is wanting but saltpetre. If we can weather out this campaign, I hope that we shall be able to have a plenty made for another. Nothing is requisite but to set about it, as every colony has materials, but more especially Virginia and Maryland. My compliments most affectionately to Mrs. Eppes. Mr. and Mrs. Skipwith, I expect, have left you. Adieu.

TO FRANCIS EPPES.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 10th, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote to Patty [Mrs. Jefferson] on my arrival here, and there being nothing new in the political way, I enclosed her letter under a blank cover to you. Since that we have received from England news of much importance which coming through many channels we believe may be confidently relied on. Both the ministerial and provincial accounts of the battle of Bunker's Hill had got to England. The ministry were determined to push the war with vigor, a measure in which they were fixed by the defeat of the Spaniards by the Moors. Ninety brass cannon were embarked from the tower, and may be hourly expected either at New York or Boston. Two thousand troops were to sail from Ireland about the 25th September; these we have reason to believe are destined for New York. Com-

[1] Originally published in Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. III, p. 569.

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modore Shuldam was to sail about the same time with a great number of frigates and small vessels of war, to be distributed among the middle colonies. He comes at the express and earnest intercessions of Lord Dunmore, and the plan is to lay waste all the plantations on our river sides. Of this we gave immediate notice to our Committee of Safety by an express whom we dispatched last Friday, that if any defence could be provided on the rivers by fortifications or small vessels it might be done immediately. In the spring, 10,000 men more are to come over. They are to be procured by taking away two-thirds of the garrison at Gibraltar (who are to be replaced by some Hessians) by 2,000 Highlanders and 5,000 Roman Catholics, whom they propose to raise in Ireland. Instead of Roman Catholics, however, some of our accounts say foreigners are to be sent. Their plan is this. They are to take possession of New York and Albany, keeping up a communication between them by means of their vessels. Between Albany and St. John's, they propose also to keep open the communication, and again between St. John's and Quebec, and Boston. By this means they expect Gage, Tryon, and Carleton may distress us on every side, acting in concert with one another. By means of Hudson's River, they expect to cut off all correspondence between the northern and southern rivers. Gage was appointed Governor-General of all America; but Sir Jeffrey Amherst consented afterwards to come over, so that Gage is to be re-

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called; but it is believed Amherst will not come till the spring; in the meantime Howe will have the command. The coöperation of the Canadians is taken for granted in all the ministerial schemes. We hope, therefore, they will be dislocated by the events in that quarter. For an account of these I must refer you to Patty. My warmest affections attend Mrs. Eppes. Adieu.

TO FRANCIS EPPES.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 24, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—Since my last, we have nothing new from England or from the camps at either Cambridge or St. John's. Our eyes are turned to the latter place with no little anxiety, the weather having been uncommonly bad for troops in that quarter, exposed to the inclemencies of the sky without any protection. Carleton is retired to Quebec, and though it does not appear he has any intimation of Arnold's expedition, yet we hear he has embodied 1,100 men to be on his guard. A small vessel was the other day cast away on the Jersey shore (she was one of the transports which had some time ago brought over troops to Boston) on board of which were a captain, with his subordinate officers and marines, amounting to 23 in all, and also a Duncan Campbell who was going to recruit men at New York for General Gage, he having some time before under-

[1] Originally published in Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. III, p. 569.

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taken the same business in the same place, and actually carried off 60 men. The marines and their officers were all taken immediately, except their captain and the recruiting gentleman; these pushed off in a little boat, and coasted it to Long Island, where they got on board a sloop which was to have sailed in an hour, when the party sent after them came upon them. They were brought to this city this morning, the marines having been here some time. Our good old speaker died the night before last. For the particulars of that melancholy event I must refer you to Patty. My affections attend Mrs. Eppes. Adieu.

TO JOHN PAGE.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 31, 1775.

DEAR PAGE,—We have nothing new from England or the camp before Boston. By a private letter this day to a gentleman of Congress from General Montgomery we learn that our forces before St. John's are 4,000 in number besides 500 Canadians, the latter of whom have repelled with great intrepidity three different attacks from the fort. We apprehend it will not hold out much longer as Monsieur St. Luc de la Corne and several other principal inhabitants of Montreal who have been our great enemies have offered to make terms. This

[1] Originally published in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. XIV, p. 244.

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St. Luc is a great Seigneur amongst the Canadians and almost absolute with the Indians, he has been our most bitter enemy, he is acknowledged to be the greatest of all scoundrels; to be assured of this I need only to mention to you that he is the ruffian who, when during the late war Fort William Henry was surrendered to the French and Indians on condition of saving the lives of the garrison, had every soul murdered in cold blood. The check which the Canadians received at first is now wearing off. They were made to believe we had an army of 15,000 men going there, but when they saw Montgomery with but 2,700 they were thunderstruck at the situation they had brought themselves into. However, when they saw even this small armament march boldly to invest St. John's, and put a good face on the matter, they revived, and the recruits since have contributed to inspirit them more.

I have set apart nearly one day in every week since I came here to write letters. Notwithstanding this I never had received the scrip of a pen from any mortal breathing. I should have excepted two lines from Mr. Pendleton to desire me to buy him 24 pounds of wire from which I concluded he was alive. I speak not this for you from whom I would not wish to receive a letter till I know you can write one without injury to your health, but in future as I must be satisfied with information from my colleagues that my county still exists, so I am determined to be satisfied also with their epistolary communications

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of what passes within our knowledge. Adieu, dear Page.

Delenda est Norfolk.[1]

TO FRANCIS EPPES.[2]

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 7, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—We have no late intelligence here except of the surrender of Chambly, with 90 prisoners of war, 6½ tons of powder, 150 stands of arms, and some other small matters. The acquisition of this powder, we hope, has before this made us masters of St. John's, on which Montreal and the upper parts of St. Lawrence will of course be ours. The fate of Arnold's expedition we know not as yet. We have had some disagreeable accounts of internal commotions in South Carolina. I have never received the script of a pen from any mortal in Virginia since I left it, nor been able by any inquiries I could make to hear of my family. I had hoped that when Mrs. Byrd came I could have heard something of them; but she could tell me nothing about them. The suspense under which I am is too terrible to be endured. If anything has happened, for God's sake let me know it. My best affections to Mrs. Eppes. Adieu.

[1] Referring to the burning of Norfolk, Va., by the British.

[2] Originally published in Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. III, p. 570.

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TO FRANCIS EPPES.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 21st, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—After sealing my last letter to you, we received an account of the capture of St. John's which I wrote on the letter. What I then gave you was true account of the matter. We consider this as having determined the fate of Canada. A committee of Congress is gone to improve circumstances, so as to bring the Canadians into our Union. We have accounts of Arnold as late as October 13. All well and in fine spirits. We cannot help hoping him into possession of Quebec, as we know Carleton to be absent in the neighborhood of Montreal. Our armed vessels to the northward have taken some of the ships coming with provisions from Ireland to Boston. By the intercepted letters we have a confirmation that they will have an army of four or five and twenty thousands there by the spring, but they will be raw-teagues.[2] 3,000 are lately arrived there. I have written to Patty a proposition to keep yourselves at a distance from the alarms of Lord Dunmore. To her, therefore, for want of time, I must refer to you, and shall hope to meet you as proposed. I am, dear Sir, with my best affections to Mrs. Eppes, your friend and servant.

[1] Originally published in Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. III, p. 570.
[2] Jefferson refers to the Irish recruits.

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TO JOHN PAGE.[1]

About Dec. 10th, 1775.

De rebus novis, ita est. One of our armed vessels has taken an English store ship coming with all the implements of war (except powder) to Boston. She is worth about £30,000 sterling as General Washington informs us, and the stores are adapted to his wants as perfectly as if he had sent the invoice. They have also taken two small provision vessels from Ireland to Boston. A forty gun ship blew up the other day by accident in the harbor of Boston. Of a certainty the hand of God is upon them. Our last intelligence from Arnold to be relied on is by letter from him. He was then at Point Levy opposite Quebec and had a great number of canoes ready to cross the river. The Canadians received him with cordiality and the regular force in Quebec was too inconsiderable to give him any inquietude. A later report makes him in possession of Quebec, but this is not authenticated. Montgomery had proceeded in quest of Carleton and his small fleet of 11 pickeroons, then on Lake St. Francis. He had got below him and had batteries so planted as to prevent his passing. It is thought he cannot escape their vigilance. I hope Lord Chatham may live till the fortune of war puts his son into our hands, and enables us by returning him safe to his father, to pay a

[1] From a letter possessed by the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass.

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debt of gratitude. I wish you would get into Convention and come here. Think of it. Accomplish it. Adieu.

The Congress have promoted Brigadier General Montgomery to be a Major General, and on being assured that Arnold is in possession of Quebec it is probable he will be made a Brigadier General, one of those offices being vacant by Montgomery's promotion. This march of Arnold's is equal to Xenophon's retreat. Be so good as to enquire for the box of books you lodged for me at Nelson's and get them to a place of safety. Perhaps some opportunity may offer of sending it to Richmond.

TO THOMAS NELSON.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, May 16, 1776.

DEAR NELSON,—I arrived here last Tuesday after being detained hence six weeks longer than I intended by a malady of which Gilmer can inform you. I have nothing new to inform you of as the last post carried you an account of the naval engagement in Delaware. I inclose a vote of yesterday on the subject of government as the ensuing campaign is likely to require greater exertion than our unorganized powers may at present effect. Should our Convention propose to establish now a form of government perhaps it might be agreeable to recall for a

[1] From a letter belonging to the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Mass.

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short time their delegates. It is a work of the most interesting nature and such as every individual would wish to have his voice in. In truth it is the whole object of the present controversy; for should a bad government be instituted for us in future it had been as well to have accepted at first the bad one offered to us from beyond the water without the risk and expense of contest. But this I mention to you in confidence, as in our situation, a hint to any other is too delicate however anxiously interesting the subject is to our feelings. In future you shall hear from me weekly while you stay, and I shall be glad to receive Conventional as well as public intelligence from you.

P. S.—In the other colonies who have instituted government they recalled their delegates, leaving only one or two to give information to Congress of matters which might relate to their country particularly, and giving them a vote during the interval of absence.

I am at present in our old lodgings though I think, as the excessive heats of the city are coming on fast, to endeavor to get lodgings in the skirts of the town where I may have the benefit of a freely circulating air. Tell Page and McClurgh that I received their letters this morning and shall devote myself to their contents. I am here in the same uneasy anxious state in which I was the last fall without Mrs. Jefferson who could not come with me. I wish much to

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see you here, yet hope you will contrive to bring on as early as you can in convention the great questions of the session. I suppose they will tell us what to say on the subject of independence, but hope respect will be expressed to the right of opinion in other colonies who may happen to differ from them. When at home I took great pains to enquire into the sentiments of the people on that head, in the upper counties I think I may safely say nine out of ten are for it. Adieu. My compliments to Mrs. Nelson.

May 19. Yesterday we received the disagreeable news of a second defeat at Quebec. Two men of war, two frigates and a tender arrived there early on the 6th instant. About 11 o'clock the same day the enemy sallied out to the number of a thousand. Our forces were so dispersed at different posts that not more than 200 could be collected at Headquarters. This small force could not resist the enemy. All our cannon, 500 muskets and 200 sick men fell into their hands. Besides this one of their frigates got possession of a batteau with 30 barrels of powder and an armed vessel which our crew was forced to abandon. Our army was to retreat to the mouth of the Sorel.

General Arnold was to set off from Montreal to join them immediately, upon whose rejoining them, it was hoped they might return as far as Dechambeau. General Wooster has the credit of this misadventure, and if he cannot give a better account of it than has

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yet been heard, I hope he will be made an example of. Generals Thomas and Sullivan were on their way with reinforcements. Arnold had gone up to Montreal on business, or as some say, disgusted by Wooster.

The Congress having ordered a new battalion of riflemen to be raised in Virginia, Innis wishes much to be translated to it from the Eastern shore which was so disagreeable to him that he had determined to have resigned.

TO WILLIAM FLEMING.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, July 1, 1776.

DEAR FLEMING,—Yours of 22d June came to hand this morning and gratified me much, as this with your former contains interesting intelligence.

Our affairs in Canada go still retrograde, but I hope they are now nearly at their worst. The fatal sources of these misfortunes have been want of hard money with which to procure provisions, the ravages of the small pox with which one half of our army is still down, and an unlucky choice of some officers. By our last letters, General Sullivan was retired as far as Isle au noix with his dispirited army and Burgoyne pursuing him with one of double or treble his numbers. It gives much concern that he had determined to make a stand there as it exposes to great danger of losing him and his army; and it was the

[1] Printed in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, vol. III,. p. 306.

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universal sense of his officers that he ought to retire. General Schuyler has sent him positive orders to retire to Crown Point but whether they will reach him in time enough to withdraw him from danger is questionable. Here it seems to be the opinion of all the General officers that an effectual stand may be made and the enemy not only prevented access into New York, but by preserving a superiority on the lakes we may renew our attacks on them to advantage as soon as our army is recovered from the small pox and recruited. But recruits, though long ordered, are very difficult to be procured on account of that dreadful disorder.

The Conspiracy at New York is not yet thoroughly developed, nor has any thing transpired, the whole being kept secret till the whole is got through. One fact is known of necessity, that one of the General's lifeguards being thoroughly convicted was to be shot last Saturday. General Howe with some ships (we know not how many) is arrived at the Hook, and, as is said, has landed some horse on the Jersey shore. The famous Major Rogers is in custody on violent suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy.

I am glad to hear of the Highlanders carried into Virginia. It does not appear certainly how many of these people we have but I imagine at least six or eight hundred. Each effort should be made to keep up the spirits of the people the succeeding three months; which in the universal opinion will be the only ones in which our trial can be severe.

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I wish you had depended on yourself rather than others for giving me an account of the late nomination of delegates. I have no other state of it but the number of votes for each person. The omission of Harrison and Braxton and my being next to the lag give me some alarm. It is a painful situation to be 300 miles from one's country, and thereby opened to secret assassination without a possibility of self-defence. I am willing to hope nothing of this kind has been done in my case, but yet I cannot be easy. If any doubts has arisen as to me, my country will have my political creed in the form of a "Declaration" etc. which I was lately directed to draw. This will give decisive proof that my own sentiment concurred with the vote they instructed me to give. Had the post been to go a day later we might have been at liberty to communicate this whole matter.

July 2. I have kept open my letter till this morning but nothing more new. Adieu.

TO GEORGE WYTHE.[1]

July, 1776.

The dignity and stability of government in all its branches, the morals of the people, and every blessing of society, depend so much upon an upright and skillful administration of justice, that the judicial power ought to be distinct from both the legislature and executive, and independent upon both, that so

[1] Extract from *The Balance*, vol. II, p. 146.

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it may be a check upon both, as both should be checks upon that. The judges, therefore, should always be men of learning and experience in the laws, of exemplary morals, great patience, calmness and attention; their minds should not be distracted with jarring interests; they should not be dependent upon any man or body of men. To these ends they should hold estates for life in their offices, or, in other words, their commissions should be during good behavior, and their salaries ascertained and established by law.

For misbehavior, the grand inquest of the colony, the house of representatives, should impeach them before the governor and council, when they should have time and opportunity to make their defence; but if convicted, should be removed from their offices, and subjected to such other punishment as shall be thought proper.

TO EDMUND PENDLETON.

July, 1776.

I am sorry the situation of my domestic affairs, renders it indispensably necessary that I should solicit the substitution of some other person here in my room. The delicacy of the House will not require me to enter minutely into the private causes which render this necessary. I trust they will be satisfied. I would not urge it again, were it not unavoidable. I shall with cheerfulness continue my duty here till

[1] Extract published in Girardin's *History of Virginia*, vol. IV.

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the expiration of our year by which time I hope it will be convenient for my successor to attend.

TO FRANCIS EPPES.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, July 15th, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 3rd inst. came to-day. I wish I could be better satisfied on the point of Patty's recovery. I had not heard from her at all for two posts before, and no letter from herself now. I wish it were in my power to return by way of the Forest, as you think it will be impracticable for Mrs. Eppes to travel to the mountains. However, it will be late in August before I can get home, and our Convention will call me down early in October. Till that time, therefore, I must defer the hope of seeing Mrs. Eppes and yourself. Admiral Howe is himself arrived at New York, and two or three vessels, supposed to be of his fleet, were coming in. The whole is expected daily.

Washington's numbers are greatly increased, but we do not know them exactly. I imagine he must have from 30 to 35,000 by this time. The enemy the other day ordered two of their men-of-war to hoist anchor and push by our batteries up the Hudson River. Both wind and tide were very fair. They passed all the batteries with ease, and, as far as is known, without receiving material damage; though there was an incessant fire kept up on them. This

[1] Originally published in Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. III, p. 582.

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experiment of theirs, I suppose, is a prelude to the passage of their whole fleet, and seems to indicate an intention of landing above New York. I imagine General Washington, finding he cannot prevent their going up the river, will prepare to amuse them wherever they shall go. Our army from Canada is now at Crown Point, but still one half down with the small pox. You ask about Arnold's behavior at the Cedars. It was this. The scoundrel, Major Butterfield, having surrendered three hundred and ninety men, in a fort with twenty or thirty days' provision, and ammunition enough, to about forty regulars, one hundred Canadians, and five hundred Indians, before he had lost a single man—and Major Sherburne, who was coming to the relief of the fort with one hundred men, having, after bravely engaging the enemy an hour and forty minutes, killing twenty of them and losing twelve of his own, been surrounded by them, and taken prisoners also—General Arnold appeared on the opposite side of the river and prepared to attack them. His numbers I know not, but believe they were about equal to the enemy. Captain Foster, commander of the king's troops, sent over a flag to him, proposing an exchange of prisoners for as many of the king's in our possession, and, moreover, informed Arnold that if he should attack, the Indians would put every man of the prisoners to death. Arnold refused, called a council of war, and, it being now in the night, it was determined to attack next morning. A second flag came over; he again refused,

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though in an excruciating situation, as he saw the enemy were in earnest about killing the prisoners. His men, too, began to be importunate for the recovery of their fellow-soldiers. A third flag came, the men grew more clamorous and Arnold, now almost raving with rage and compassion, was obliged to consent to the exchange and six days suspension of hostilities, Foster declaring he had not boats to deliver them in less time. However, he did deliver them so much sooner as that before the six days were expired, himself and party had fled out of all reach. Arnold then retired to Montreal. You have long before this heard of General Thompson's defeat. The truth of that matter has never appeared till lately. You will see it in the public papers. No men on earth ever behaved better than ours did. The enemy behaved dastardly. Colonel Allen (who was in the engagement) assured me this day, that such was the situation of our men, half way up to the thighs in mud for several hours, that five hundred men of spirit must have taken the whole; yet the enemy were repulsed several times, and our people had time to extricate themselves and come off. It is believed the enemy suffered considerably. The above account of Arnold's affair you may rely on, as I was one of a committee appointed to inquire into the whole of that matter, and have it from those who were in the whole transaction, and were taken prisoners.

My sincere affections to Mrs. Eppes, and adieu.

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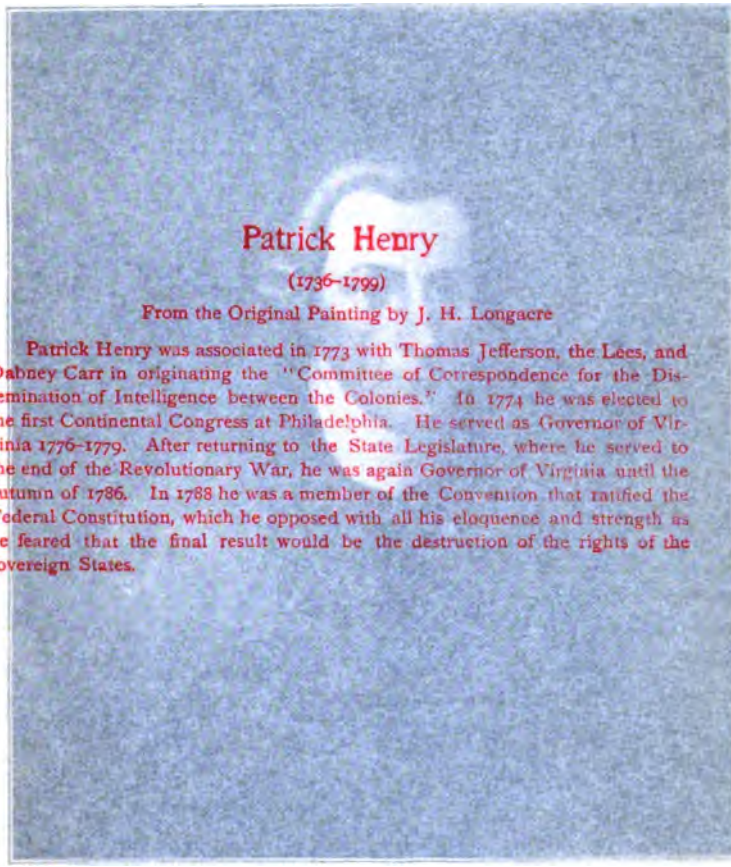

Patrick Henry

(1736–1799)

From the Original Painting by J. H. Longacre

Patrick Henry was associated in 1773 with Thomas Jefferson, the Lees, and Dabney Carr in originating the "Committee of Correspondence for the Dissemination of Intelligence between the Colonies." In 1774 he was elected to the first Continental Congress at Philadelphia. He served as Governor of Virginia 1776–1779. After returning to the State Legislature, where he served to the end of the Revolutionary War, he was again Governor of Virginia until the autumn of 1786. In 1788 he was a member of the Convention that ratified the Federal Constitution, which he opposed with all his eloquence and strength as he feared that the final result would be the destruction of the rights of the sovereign States.

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TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

(PATRICK HENRY.)

PHILADELPHIA, July 16, 1776.

We were informed a few weeks ago that 5000 pounds of lead imported by our colony were landed at Fredericksburgh. As it appeared very unlikely it should be wanting in Virginia, and the flying camp forming in the Jerseys, in the face of a powerful enemy, are likely to be in distress for this article, we thought we should be wanting to the public cause, which includes that of our own country, had we hesitated to desire it to be brought here. Had the wants of the camp admitted the delay of an application to you we should most certainly have waited an order from you, but their distress is instantaneous. Even this supply is insufficient. The army in Canada, and the army in New York will want much lead and there seems to be no certain source of supply unless the mine in Virginia can be rendered such. We are, therefore, by direction of Congress to beg further you will be pleased to send them what lead can be spared from Williamsburgh, and moreover order 15 or 20 tons to be brought here immediately from the mine.

We take the liberty of recommending the lead mines to you as an object of vast importance. We think it impossible they can be worked to too great an extent. Considered as perhaps the sole means of supporting the American cause, they are inestimable. As an article of commerce to our colony, too, they

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will be valuable; and even the wagonage, if done either by the colony or individuals belonging to it, will carry to it no trifling sum of money. We enclose you a resolution of Congress of the subjects of forts and garrisons on the Ohio.

Several vacancies having happened in our battalions, we are unable to have them filled for want of a list of the officers stating their seniority. We must beg the favor of you to furnish us with one. We received from Colonel R. H. Lee a resolution of Convention recommending us to endeavor that the promotions of the officers be according to seniority without regard to regiments or companies. In one instance indeed the Congress reserved to themselves a right of departing from seniority; that is where a person either out of the line of command, or in an inferior part of it, has displayed eminent talents. Most of the general officers have been promoted in this way. Without this reservation the whole continent must have been supplied with general officers from the Eastern colonies, where a large army was formed and officered before any other colony had occasion to raise troops at all, and a number of experienced, able and valuable officers must have been lost to the public merely from the locality of their situation.

The resolution of our Convention on the subject of salt we shall lay before Congress. The Convention of Pennsylvania did not proceed to business yesterday for want of a quorum. As soon as they do we

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shall lay before them the proposition from our convention on the differences at Fort Pitt, and communicate to you the result.

TO COLONEL FIELDING LEWIS.

PHILADELPHIA, July 16, 1776.

We were informed a few weeks ago that 5000 pounds of lead imported on account of our colony were landed at Fredericksburgh. There appears scarcely a possibility it should be wanting in Virginia, more especially when we consider the supplies which may be expected from the mines of that colony. The flying camp now forming in the Jerseys and which will be immediately in the face of a powerful enemy is likely to be in great want of that article. Did their wants admit of delay of an application to the Governor we should have applied to him and have not a doubt he would order it hither. But circumstances are too pressing, and we are assured we should incur the censures of our country were we to permit the public cause to suffer essentially while the means of preventing it (though not under our immediate charge) are within our reach. We, therefore, take the liberty of desiring you to stop so many of the powder wagons now on their way to Williamsburgh as may be necessary and return them immediately with this lead, and whatever more you can collect sending the powder on by other wagons.

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But should the lead have been sent to Williamsburgh the wagons may then proceed on their Journey and the Governor to whom we have written will take care of the matter.[1]

TO JOHN PAGE.[2]

PHILADELPHIA, July 20, 1776.

DEAR PAGE,—On the receipt of your letter we enquired into the probability of getting your seal done here. We find a drawer and an engraver here both of whom we have reason to believe are excellent in their way. They did great seals for Jamaica and Barbadoes both of which are said to have been well done, and a seal for the Philosophical society here which we are told is excellent. But they are expensive, and will require two months to complete it. The drawing the figures for the engraver will cost about 50 dollars, and the engraving will be still more. Nevertheless as it would be long before we could consult you and receive an answer, as we think you have no such hands, and the expense is never to be incurred a second time we shall order it to be done. I like the device of the first side of the seal much. The second I think is too much crowded, nor is the design so striking. But for God's sake what is the "*Deus nobis haec otia facit*"? It puzzles everybody

[1] See *Journals of Congress*, 14 July, 1776.

[2] Originally published in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XX, p. 69.

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here; if my country really enjoys that *otium*, it is singular, as every other colony seems to be hard struggling. I think it was agreed on before Dunmore's flight from Gwyn's island so that it can hardly be referred to the temporary *holiday* that has given you. This device is too enigmatical, since it puzzles now, it will be absolutely insoluble fifty years hence.

I would not advise that the French gentlemen should come here. We have so many of that country, and have been so much imposed on, that the Congress begins to be sore on that head. Besides there is no prospect of raising horse this way. But if you approve of the Chevalier de St. Aubin, why not appoint him yourselves, as your troops of horse are Colonial not Continental?

The 8th battalion will no doubt be taken into Continental pay from the date you mention. So also will be the two written for lately to come to the Jerseys. The 7th should have been moved in Congress long e'er now, but the muster roll sent us by Mr. Yates was so miserably defective that it would not have been received, and would have exposed him. We, therefore, desired him to send one more full, still giving it the same date, and I enclosed him a proper form. If he is diligent we may receive it by next post.

The answer to your public letter we have addressed to the Governor.

There is nothing new here. Washington's and Mercer's camps recruit with amazing slowness. Had

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they been reinforced more readily something might have been attempted on Staten Island. The enemy there are not more than 8, or 10,000 strong. Lord Howe has received none of his fleet, unless some Highlanders (about 8, or 10 vessels) were of it. Our army at Ticonderoga is getting out of the small pox. We have about 150 carpenters I suppose got there by now. I hope they will out-build the enemy, so as to keep our force on the lake superior to theirs. There is a mystery in the dereliction of Crown-point. The general officers were unanimous in preferring Ticonderoga, and the Field officers against it. The latter have assigned reasons in their remonstrance which appear unanswerable, yet every one acquainted with the ground pronounce the measure right without answering these reasons.

Having declined serving here the next year, I shall be with you at the first session of our assembly. I purpose to leave this place the 11th of August, having so advised Mrs. Jefferson by last post, and every letter brings me such an account of the state of her health, that it is with great pain I can stay here till then. But Braxton purposing to leave us the day after to-morrow, the colony would be unrepresented were I to go, before the 11th. I hope to see Colonel Lee and Mr. Wythe here. Though the stay of the latter will I hope be short, as he must not be spared from the important department of the law. Adieu, adieu.

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Facsimile Signatures of the Signers

(*Declaration of Independence*)

Photo-engraving from the Original Document in the Department of State

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TO FRANCIS EPPES.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, July 23, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—We have nothing new here now but from the southward. The successes there I hope will prove valuable here, by giving new spirit to our people. The ill successes in Canada had depressed the minds of many; when we shall hear the last of them I know not; everybody had supposed Crown Point would be a certain stand for them, but they have retreated from that to Ticonderoga, against everything which in my eye wears the shape of reason. When I wrote you last, we were deceived in General Washington's numbers. By a return which came to hand a day or two after, he then had but 15,000 effective men. His reinforcements have come in pretty well since. The flying camp in the Jerseys under General Mercer begins to form, but not as fast as exigencies require. The Congress have, therefore, been obliged to send for two of our battalions from Virginia. I hope that country is perfectly safe now; and if it is, it seems hardly right that she should not contribute a man to an army of 40,000 and an army, too, on which was to depend the decision of all our rights. Lord Howe's fleet has not yet arrived. The first division sailed five days before he did, but report says it was scattered by a storm. This seems probable, as Lord Howe had a long passage. The other two divisions were not

[1] Originally published in Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. III, p. 582.

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sailed when he came away. I do not expect his army will be here and fit for action till the middle or last of August; in the meantime, if Mercer's camp could be formed with the expedition it merits, it might be possible to attack the present force from the Jersey side of Staten Island, and get rid of that beforehand; the militia go in freely, considering they leave their harvest to rot in the field.

I have received no letter this week, which lays me under great anxiety. I shall leave this place about the 11th of next month. Give my love to Mrs. Eppes, and tell her that when both you and Petty fail to write me, I think I shall not be unreasonable in insisting she shall.

TO JOHN PAGE.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 5, 1776.

DEAR PAGE,—I am sorry to hear that the Indians have commenced war, but greatly pleased you have been so decisive on that head. Nothing will reduce those wretches so soon as pushing the war into the heart of their country. But I would not stop there. I would never cease pursuing them while one of them remained on this side the Mississippi. So unprovoked an attack and so treacherous a one should never be forgiven while one of them remains near enough to do us injury. The Congress having had

[1] From the collection belonging to Mr. Cassius F. Lee, of Alexandria, Va.

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reason to suspect the Six nations intended war, instructed their commissioners to declare to them peremptorily that if they chose to go to war with us, they should be at liberty to remove their families out of our settlements, but to remember that they should not only never more return to their dwellings on any terms but that we would never cease pursuing them with war while one remained on the face of the earth; and moreover, to avoid equivocation, to let them know they must recall their young men from Canada, or we should consider them as acting against us nationally. This decisive declaration produced an equally decisive act on their part; they have recalled their young men, and are stirring themselves with anxiety to keep their people quiet, so that the storm we apprehended to be brewing there it is hoped is blown over. Colonel Lee being unable to attend here till the 20th inst. I am under the painful necessity of putting off my departure, notwithstanding the unfavorable situation of Mrs. Jefferson's health. We have had hopes till to-day of receiving an authentication of the next year's delegation, but are disappointed. I know not who should have sent it, the Governor, or President of Convention: but certainly somebody should have done it. What will be the consequence I know not. We cannot be admitted to take our seat on any precedent or the spirit of any precedent yet set! According to the standing rules not only an authentic copy will be required, but it must be entered in the journals ver-

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batim that it may there appear we have right to sit. This seems the more necessary as the quorum is then to be reduced. Some of the newspapers, indeed, mention that on such a day such and such gentlemen were appointed to serve for the next year, but could newspaper evidence be received? They could not furnish the form of the appointment, not yet that quorum is to be admitted.

Lord Howe is recruiting fast. Forty odd ships arrived the other day, and others at other times. It is questionable whether our recruits come in so speedily as his. Several valuable West Indian men have been taken and brought in lately, and the spirit of privateering is gaining ground fast. No news from Ticonderoga. I enclose you (to amuse your curiosity) the form of the prayer substituted in the room of the prayer for the King by Mr. Duché, chaplain to the Congress. I think by making it so general as to take in Conventions, assemblies, etc., it might be used instead of that for the parliament. Adieu.

TO FRANCIS EPPES.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 9th, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—As Colonel Harrison was about to have some things packed, I set out upon the execution of your glass commission, and was surprised to find that the whole glass stores of the city could not make out anything like what you desired. I, therefore, did

[1] Originally published in Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. III, p. 584.

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what I thought would be best, imagining you wanted the number you mentioned at any event, and that not being able to get them of that form, you would take them of any other. I, therefore, got 4 pint cans, 10*s*; 2 quart do. 8*s*; and six half-pint tumblers, 6*s*., all of double flint. So that there still remains in my hands £4 16*s*., Pennsylvania currency.

Your teckle is not yet come. It seems the man who had promised to sell it to the gentleman I employed to get it, now raises some difficulties either to get off others which he calls the set, or to enhance the price. However, the gentleman still expects it, and I am after him every day for it. Our galleys at New York have had a smart engagement with the men-of-war which went up the river; it is believed the enemy suffered a good deal. The galleys are much injured, though we lost but two men. The commander writes us word he retired, that he might go and give them another drubbing, which in plain English meant, I suppose, that he was obliged to retire. General Washington commends the behavior of the men much. They lay pretty close to the enemy, and two of the galleys were exposed to the broadside of their ships almost the whole time. The damage done them proves they were in a warm situation. Madison (of the college) and one Johnson, of Augusta, were coming passengers in the New York Packet; they were attacked by one of our armed vessels, and nothing but the intervention of night prevented the packet being taken. She is arrived at New York,

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and they permitted to come. In a letter by them, we have intelligence that the French ministry is changed, the pacific men turned out, and those who are for war, with the Duke de Choiseul at their head, are taken in. We have also the king's speech on the prorogation of parliament, declaring he will see it out with us to the bitter end.

The South Carolina army with Clinton, Sr., arrived at Staten Island last week, one of their transports, with 5 companies of Highlanders, having first fallen into General Lee's hands. They now make Lord Howe 12,000 strong. With this force he is preparing to attack. He is embarking his cannon; has launched 8 galleys, and formed his men-of-war into line of battle. From these circumstances, it is believed the attack of New York will be within three or four days. They expect with the utmost confidence to carry it, and they consider our army but as a rude undisciplined rabble. I hope they will find it a Bunker's Hill rabble. Notwithstanding these appearances of attack, there are some who believe, and with appearance of reason, that these measures are taken by the enemy to secure themselves and not to attack us. A little time will show. General Arnold (a fine sailor) has undertaken to command our fleet on the lakes. The enemy are fortifying Oswego, and I believe our army there, when recovered from their sickness, will find they have lost a good campaign, though they have had no battle of moment.

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My love to Mrs. Eppes. I hope my letter by last post got there time enough to stay Patty with her a while longer. Adieu.

TO ————.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 13, 1776.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of August 3rd came to hand yesterday; having had no moment to spare since, I am obliged to set down to answer it at a Committee table while the Committee is collecting. My thoughts, therefore, on the subject you propose will be merely extempore. The opinion that our lands were allodial possessions is one which I have very long held, and had in my eye during a pretty considerable part of my law reading which I found always strengthened it. It was mentioned in a very hasty production, intended to have been put under a course of severe correction, but produced afterwards to the world in a way with which you are acquainted. This opinion I have thought and still think to prove if ever I should have time to look into books again. But this is only meant with respect to the English law as transplanted here. How far our acts of assembly or acceptance of grants may have converted lands which were allodial into feuds I have never considered. This matter is now become a mere speculative point; and we have it in our power to make it what it ought to be for the public good.

[1] From the collection of Dr. J. S. H. Fogg, of Boston, Mass. This letter was probably written to Edmund Pendleton.

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It may be considered in the two points of view 1st. as bringing a revenue into the public treasury. 2d. as a tenure. I have only time to suggest hints on each of these heads. 1. Is it consistent with good policy or free government to establish a perpetual revenue? Is it not against the practice of our wise British ancestors? Have not the instances in which we have departed from this in Virginia been constantly condemned by the universal voice of our country? Is it safe to make the governing power when once seated in office, independent of its revenue? Should we not have in contemplation and prepare for an event (however deprecated) which may happen in the possibility of things; I mean a re-acknowledgment of the British tyrant as our king, and previously strip him of every prejudicial possession? Remember how universally the people ran into the idea of recalling Charles the 2d after living many years under a republican government.—As to the second was not the separation of the property from the perpetual use of lands a mere fiction? Is not its history well known, and the purposes for which it was introduced, to wit, the establishment of a military system of defence?

Was it not afterwards made an engine of immense oppression? Is it wanting with us for the purpose of military defence? May not its other legal effects (such of them at least as are valuable) be performed in other more simple ways? Has it not been the practice of all other nations to hold their lands as

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their personal estate in absolute dominion? Are we not the better for what we have hitherto abolished of the feudal system? Has not every restitution of the ancient Saxon laws had happy effects? Is it not better now that we return at once into that happy system of our ancestors, the wisest and most perfect ever yet devised by the wit of man, as it stood before the 8th century.

The idea of Congress selling out unlocated lands has been sometimes dropped, but we have always met the hint with such determined opposition that I believe it will never be proposed.—I am against selling the lands at all. The people who will migrate to the westward whether they form part of the old, or of a new colony will be subject to their proportion of the Continental debt then unpaid. They ought not to be subject to more. They will be a people little able to pay taxes. There is no equity in fixing upon them the whole burthen of this war, or any other proportion than we bear ourselves. By selling the lands to them, you will disgust them, and cause an avulsion of them from the common union. They will settle the lands in spite of everybody.—I am at the same time clear that they should be appropriated in small quantities. It is said that wealthy foreigners will come in great numbers, and they ought to pay for the liberty we shall have provided for them. True, but make them pay in settlers. A foreigner who brings a settler for every 100, or 200 acres of land to be granted him pays a better price than if he had put

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into the public treasury 5/or 5£. That settler will be worth to the public 20 times as much every year, as on our old plan he would have paid in one payment. I have thrown these loose thoughts together only in obedience to your letter; there is not an atom of them which would not have occurred to you on a moment's contemplation of the subject. Charge yourself therefore with the trouble of reading two pages of such undigested stuff.

By Saturday's post the General wrote us that Lord Howe had got (I think 100) flat bottomed boats alongside, and 30 of them were then loaded with men; by which it was concluded he was preparing to attack, yet this is Tuesday and we hear nothing further. The General has by his last return, 17,000 some odd men, of whom near 4000 are sick and near 3000 at out posts in Long Island, etc. So you may say he has but 10,000 effective men to defend the works of New York. His works, however, are good and his men in spirits, which I hope will be equal to an addition of many thousands. He had called for 2000 men from the flying camp which were then embarking to him and would certainly be with him in time even if the attack was immediate. The enemy have (since Clinton and his army joined them) 15,000 men of whom not many are sick. Every influence of Congress has been exerted in vain to double the General's force. It was impossible to prevail on the people to leave their harvest. That is now in, and great numbers are in motion, but they have no

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chance to be there in time. Should, however, any disaster befall us at New York they will form a great army on the spot to stop the progress of the enemy. I think there cannot be less than 6 or 8000 men in this city and between it and the flying camp. Our council complain of our calling away two of the Virginia battalions. But is this reasonable. They have no British enemy, and if human reason is of any use to conjecture future events, they will not have one. Their Indian enemy is not to be opposed by their regular battalions. Other colonies of not more than half their military strength have 20 battalions in the field. Think of these things and endeavor to reconcile them not only to this, but to yield greater assistance to the common cause if wanted. I wish every battalion we have was now in New York.—We yesterday received dispatches from the Commissioners at Fort Pitt. I have not read them, but a gentleman who has, tells me they are favorable. The Shawanese and Delawares are disposed to peace. I believe it, for this reason. We had by different advices information from the Shawanese that they should strike us, that this was against their will, but that they must do what the Senecas bid them. At that time we knew the Senecas meditated war. We directed a declaration to be made to the six nations in general that if they did not take the most decisive measures for the preservation of neutrality we would never cease waging war with them while one was to be found on the face of the earth. They immediately

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changed their conduct and I doubt not have given corresponding information to the Shawanese and Delawares.

I hope the Cherokees will now be driven beyond the Mississippi and that this in future will be declared to the Indians the invariable consequence of their beginning a war. Our contest with Britain is too serious and too great to permit any possibility of avocation from the Indians. This then is the season for driving them off, and our Southern colonies are happily rid of every other enemy and may exert their whole force in that quarter.

I hope to leave this place some time this month.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend.

P. S. Mr. Madison of the college and Mr. Johnson of Fredericksburgh are arrived in New York. They say nothing material had happened in England. The French ministry was changed.

TO JOHN PAGE.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 20, 1776.

DEAR PAGE,—We have been in hourly expectation of the great decision at New York, but it has not yet happened. About three nights ago an attempt was made to burn the two ships which had gone up the river. One of the two fire-rafts prepared for that

[1] Copy of a letter owned by the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass.

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purpose grappled the Phenix ten minutes, but was cleared away at last. A tender however was burnt. The two ships came down on Sunday evening and passed all our batteries again with impunity. Lord Dunmore is at Staten Island. His sick he sent to Halifax, his effective men he carried to Staten Island and the blacks he shipped off to the West Indies. Two gentlemen who had been taken prisoners by the enemy have made their escape. They say they are now 20,000 and that another division of 5,000 foreigners is still expected. They think Lord Howe will not attack these 10 days, but that he does not wait for his last division, being confident of victory without. One of these informants was captain of a continental vessel going for ammunition. The mate and crew rose and took the vessel. They fell in with the division of the Hessians which came with the Hessian general and were brought to. The general learning from the dethroned captain what had happened, immediately threw the piratical mate into irons, and had the captain to dine with him every day till they got to Halifax where he delivered him, vessel, etc. over to the English.—A gentleman who lived some time in this city, but since last winter has become a resident of St. Eustatia writes that by a Dutch ship from Amsterdam they have advice that the states of Holland had refused to renew the prohibition on the exportation of powder to the colonies, or to cede to the English the Scotch brigade in their service, or to furnish them with some men

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of war asked of them by the British court. This refusal so piqued the ministry that they had been induced to take several Dutch ships, amongst which he said were two which sailed from that island and were carried to London, another to St. Kitt's. In consequence of this the Dutch have armed 40 ships of war and ordered 60 more to be built and are raising 20,000 land forces. The French Governor-in-chief of their West Indies has not only refused to permit a captain of a man of war to make prize of our vessels in their ports but forbidden them to come within gun shot of the ports. The enemy's men of war being withdrawn from our whole coast to New York gives now fine opportunities of getting in powder. We see the effect here already.

Two Canadians who had been captains in our Canadian regiment and who, General Gates writes us, are known in the army to be worthy of good credit made their escape from St. John's, and came over to our army from Ticonderoga; and give the following intelligence. The enemy did not fortify any place we abandoned. They had 2000 men at Isle aux noix under General Fraser, 2000 at St. John's under Carleton and some at Montreal. 250 only had been left at Quebec. It was reported that 4000 English troops which were to have been a part of that army had perished at sea which gave great uneasiness. The fleet brought over timber, etc., for 50 boats which they attempted to transport by land from the mouth of Sorel to St. John's, but could not for want of car-

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riages which had been destroyed. Carleton, therefore, employed Canadians to build batteaux at St. John's. He has rendered himself very odious to the Canadians by levying contributions on them in general and confiscating the estates of all those who followed our army or who abscond. Great numbers of the Germans desert daily and are anxiously concealed by the inhabitants. 70 Brunswickers disappeared in one day. Their officers are so much afraid of bush-fighting and ambushes that they will not head any parties to pursue the runaways. The men have the same fears, which prevents them from deserting in so great numbers as is supposed they will when once our fleet shall appear cruising on the lake to receive and protect them. Between the 22d and 24th July Carleton and the other generals abandoned all their posts on this side Sorel except St. John's with as great precipitation as our poor sick army had done, carrying with them their artillery and provisions. This was occasioned by the arrival and mysterious manœuvres of a fleet at Quebec supposed French, hoisting different colours and firing at Tenders sent from the town to enquire who they were. 200 men were left at Isle aux noix to send them intelligence of our operations, who they say will go down the river if we return into Canada. For this event the Canadians are offering up prayers at the shrines of all their saints. Carleton some time ago hearing that we were returning with a considerable reinforcement was so terrified that

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he would have retired immediately had not some of his spies come in and informed him of the deplorable situation to which the small pox had reduced our army.—They are recovering health and spirits. General Gates writes that he had accounts of the roads being crowded with militia coming to his assistance. 600 from New Hampshire came in while he was writing his letter, being the first. His fleet had sailed from Ticonderoga to Crown Point. Their number and force as follows.

	Guns.	Swivels.	Men.
1 Schooner	12, 4 lbrs.	10	50
1 Sloop	12, 4 "	16	50
1 Schooner	4, 4 " 4, 2 lbrs.	10	35
1 do	2, 4 " 6, 2 "	8	35
2 Galleys, each	1, 12 " 2, 9 "	8	45
2 do "	3, 9 "	8	45
2 do not quite rigged.			

Eight more galleys would be ready to join them in a fortnight when they would proceed down the Cape. General Arnold (who is said to be a good sailor) had undertaken the command. We have 200 fine ship carpenters (mostly sent from here) at work. I hope a fleet will soon be exhibited on that lake such as it never bore. The Indians have absolutely refused Carleton in Canada and Butler at Niagara to have anything to do in this quarrel, and applaud in the highest terms our wisdom and candor for not requiring them to meddle. Some of the most sensible speeches I ever saw of theirs are on this head, not to be spoken to us, but behind our backs

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in the councils of our enemies. From very good intelligence the Indians of the middle department will be quiet. That treaty is put off till October. Were it not that it interferes with our Assembly I would go to it, as I think something important might be done there, which could not be so well planned as by going to the spot and seeing its geography. We have great fear that the sending an agent from Virginia to enlist Indians will have ill consequences. It breaks in upon the plan pursued here and destroys that uniformity and consistency of counsels which the Indians have noticed and approved in their speeches. Besides they are a useless, expensive, ungovernable ally.—I forgot to observe that a captain Mesnard of Canada had come to General Gates after the two above mentioned and confirmed their account in almost every article. One of the German deserters travelled with him to within 20 miles of our camp, when he was obliged to halt through fatigue. He passed 3 others of them. —Baron Woedeke is dead, no great loss from his habit of drinking.—The infamous Bedel and Butterfield were ordered by Congress to be tried for their conduct. They have been tried by a Court martial, condemned and broke with infamy. We inclose to you all the Commissions mentioned in the last letter of the delegates, except Innis's to be forwarded to the Eastern shore immediately, and Weedon's and Marshall's who we are informed are on the road hither. Would to God they were in New York. We wait

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your recommendation for the two vacant majorities. Pray regard militaryment alone. The commissions now sent do not fix the officers to any particular battalion so that the commanding officer will dispose of them. Cannot you make use of any interest with Lee or Lewis to call Innis over to the western shore. He pants for it, and in my opinion has a right to ask it. Adieu, Adieu.

Davis with the 4000 pounds of gun powder and 90 stand of arms for Virginia got into Egg Harbor. We have sent wagons for the powder to bring it here, and shall wait your further order. We were obliged to open Van Bibber and Harrison's letter to the Council of safety of Virginia in order to take out the bill of lading without which it would not be delivered.

TO JOHN ADAMS.[1]

WILLIAMSBURGH, 16 May, 1777.

Matters in our part of the continent are too much in quiet to send you news from hence. Our battalions for the Continental service were some time ago so far filled as rendered the recommendation of a draught from the militia hardly requisite, and the more so as in this country it ever was the most unpopular and impracticable thing that could be attempted. Our people, even under the monarchical government, had learnt to consider it as the last of all

[1] Found in the Works of John Adams, vol. IX, p. 465.

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oppressions. I learn from our delegates that the confederation is again on the carpet, a great and a necessary work, but I fear almost desperate. The point of representation is what most alarms me, as I fear the great and small colonies are bitterly determined not to cede. Will you be so good as to collect the proposition I formerly made you in private, and try if you can work it into some good to save our union? It was, that any proposition might be negatived by the representatives of a majority of the people of America, or of a majority of the colonies of America. The former secures the larger, the latter, the smaller colonies. I have mentioned it to many here. The good whigs, I think, will so far cede their opinions for the sake of the Union, and others we care little for.

The journals of Congress not being printed earlier, gives more uneasiness than I would wish ever to see produced by any act of that body, from whom alone I know our salvation can proceed. In our Assembly, even the best affected think it an indignity to freemen to be voted away, life and fortune, in the dark. Our House have lately written for a manuscript copy of your journals, not meaning to desire a communication of any thing ordered to be kept secret. I wish the regulation of the post-office, adopted by Congress last September, could be put in practice. It was for the travel night and day, and to go their several stages three times a week. The speedy and frequent

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communication of intelligence is really of great consequence. So many falsehoods have been propagated that nothing now is believed unless coming from Congress or camp. Our people, merely for want of intelligence which they may rely on, are become lethargic and insensible of the state they are in. Had you ever a leisure moment, I should ask a letter from you sometimes, directed to the care of Mr. Dick, Fredericksburgh; but having nothing to give in return, it would be a tax on your charity as well as your time. The esteem I have for you privately, as well as for your public importance, will always render assurances of your health and happiness agreeable. I am, dear sir, your friend and servant.

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.[1]

WILLIAMSBURG, June 5, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I am now to acknowledge the receipt of two of your favors, during the session of Assembly, but there being little to communicate to you, and that, being a busy time with me, has prevented my doing it sooner. The Assembly rose on Monday last; their only act which can shortly aid our army, was one for raising a regiment of horse, which, I think, will be raised as fast as it can be accoutred. Another act they passed, will also produce aid to our army, I hope, but it will be some delay first; it

[1] Found in Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee*, vol. II, p. 187.

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was for giving great encouragement to soldiers, and appointing recruiting officers all over the country, to attend all public places. By a third act, they foolishly repeated the experiment of raising volunteers; the first attempt was pardonable, because its ill-success could not be foreseen; the second is worse than ridiculous, because it may deceive our friends; I am satisfied there will not be a company raised. I wish Congress would commute a good part of the infantry required from us, for an equivalent force in horse. This service opens us a new fund of young men, who have not yet stepped forth; I mean those whose indolence or education, has unfitted them for foot service; this may be worth your thinking of. We passed the bill of pardon, recommended by Congress, but the Senate rejected it. Your letter, about enlarging your powers over the confederation, was not proceeded on, because the nature of the enlargement was not chalked out by you so intelligibly as enabled the house to do anything, unless they had given a *carte blanche*. Indeed, I believe, that, had the alterations proposed been specified unless they had been mere form, indeed, it might have been difficult to obtain their consent. A Frenchman arrived here a week ago, with a vast cargo of woolens, made and unmade, stockings, shoes, etc., fit for the army, fifty thousand weight of powder, and other articles; the master had once sold the whole cargo, to the Governor and Council, for 5*s* 3*p* the

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livre, first cost; but, on suggestions from some of our forestallers, and those from Maryland, he flew off. Our bay is clear of the enemy. Nothing new here. I set out for Albemarle, within a day or two. Mr. Harvie will be with you in about three weeks. My compliments to your brethren of the delegation, and am, dear sir, your friend and servant.

TO REV. SAMUEL HENLEY.[1]

WILLIAMSBURGH, June 9, 1778.

REVEREND SIR,—Mr. Madison I believe informed you by letter written some time ago that one of your boxes of books left in his care burst open in removing it from the college to the president's house for greater security. This accident discovered them to be in a state of ruin. They had contracted a dampness and stuck together in large blocks, insomuch that they could not sometimes be separated without tearing the cover. I happened to be in town and was of opinion with Mr. Madison that it was necessary to overhaul them and give them air. Indeed, we both thought—I think it would be for your interest to have them sold, as books are now in considerable demand here, and, packed as they are in boxes, they must sustain injury. There are many of them which I would be glad to take myself at their sterling cost and would remit you the money

[1] Copy of a letter belonging to Hon. John Boyd Thacher, of Albany, N. Y.

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by the way of France. That cost might be fixed either by note from yourself, informing me what they cost you, or by the estimate of anybody here in whom you trust. Upon a presumption that you could not but approve of the proposal to have them disposed of and the money remitted, for the reasons before given and others which you may apprehend but would be improper for me to explain, I have taken the liberty of laying apart many of them for myself, leaving with Mr. Madison a catalogue of them, and ready to return them to him if you shall direct it. I shall be glad of your answer as soon as possible, and will gladly serve you in the care of any interest you may have left here. The reasons are obvious which restrain this letter to matters of business. As soon as the obstacles to friendly correspondence are removed I shall be glad at all times to hear from you. I am, Reverend Sir,

Your friend and servant.

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.[1]

MONTICELLO, April 21, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—Among the convention prisoners in this neighborhood is a Baron de Geismar of the Germans, brigade major to General Gall, whose situation I would wish to make you acquainted with. He is the only son of a German nobleman, and has I believe an only sister; his father, now 70 years of

[1] From the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York City.

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age, if living; and excessively anxious to see him before his death. His patrimonial expectations in danger of being transferred to others in the weak state of his father, or perhaps plundered in the case of his death; the footing on which he stands with his prince such as might give him reason to hope for protection were he on the spot, but everything of that kind certain of passing by him as long as he is absent. Under the circumstances, captivity is peculiarly injurious to him, and he petitions Congress to exchange him if possible, or otherwise permit him to return home on any parole they will describe. I am satisfied he will carry with him no disposition to injure us; and his personal merit, with which I am become intimately acquainted, entitles him to every indulgence consistent with the indispensable rules of Congress. I take the liberty of recommending his request to your solicitations, as from a knowledge of the man I am become interested in his happiness. Whatever you can do for him will be considered as a peculiar obligation on, Dear Sir, Your friend and servant.

TO GABRIEL JONES.[1]

MONTICELLO, April 29, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—By Mrs. Harvey I inclose to you the principal and interest of the money you were so kind as to lend me some years ago. It furnishes me also

[1] Found in *The Balance*, vol. II, p. 194.

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with an occasion of acknowledging, with this, the many other obligations under which you have laid me, of which I shall always be proud to show a due sense, whenever opportunities shall offer. I am, dear sir, with much esteem, your friend and servant.

TO WILLIAM FLEMING.[1]

WILLIAMSBURGH, June 8, 1779.

DEAR FLEMING,—I received your letter and have now to thank you for it. Some resolutions of Congress came to hand yesterday desiring an authentic state to be sent them of the cruelties said to have been committed by the enemy during their late invasion. The Council had already taken measures to obtain such a state. Though so near the scene where these barbarities are said to have been committed I am not able yet to decide within myself whether they were such or not. The testimony on both sides is such as if heard separately could not admit a moment's suspension of our faith.

We have lately been extremely disturbed to find a pretty general opinion prevailing that peace and the independence of the thirteen states are now within our power, and that Congress have hesitations on the subject, and delay entering on the consideration. It has even been said that their conduct on this head has been so dissatisfactory to the French Minister that he thinks of returning to his

[1] Published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, vol. III, p. 306.

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own country, ostensibly for better health, but in truth through disgust. Such an event would be deplored here as the most dreadful calamity. It is in contemplation of some gentlemen who conferred on the subject to propose the re-establishment of our committees of correspondence; others thought this too slow for the emergency and that plenipotentiary deputies should be sent to satisfy the mind of the French Minister, and to set on foot proper measures for procuring the genuine sense of the several States. The whole, however, subsided on a supposition that the information might not be true, and that our delegates in Congress would think no obligations of secrecy under which they may have been laid sufficient to restrain them from informing their constituents of any proceedings which may involve the fate of their freedom and independence. It would surely be better to carry on a ten years' war some time hence than to continue the present an unnecessary moment.

Our land office I think will be opened; the sale of British property take place, and our tax bill put on a better footing. These measures I hope will put our finances into a better way and enable us to co-operate with our sister states in reducing the enormous sums of money in circulation. Every other remedy is nonsensical quackery. The house of delegates have passed a bill for removing the seat of government to Richmond. It hesitates with the Senate. We have established a board of war and a board of trade. I

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hear from your quarter that General Sullivan is marching with a large army against the Indians. If he succeeds it will be the first instance of a great army doing anything against Indians and his laurels will be greater. We have ever found that chosen corps of men fit for the service of the woods, going against them with rapidity, and by surprise, have been most successful. I believe that our Colonel Clarke if we could properly reinforce him, would be more likely to succeed against those within his reach than General Macintosh's regular method of proceeding. I shall hope to hear from you often. I put no name to this letter, because letters have miscarried, and if it goes safely you know the hand.

TO THEODORICK BLAND, JR.[1]

WILLIAMSBURG, June 8th, 1779.

SIR,—Your letter to Governor Henry, of the 1st instant, came to hand yesterday, and I immediately laid it before the council. It gave them pain to hesitate on any request from General Phillips, whose polite conduct has disposed them to every indulgence consistent with the duties of their appointment. The indiscriminate murder of men, women and children with the horrid circumstances of barbarity practised by the Indian savages, was the particular task of Governor Hamilton's employment; and if anything could have aggravated the acceptance

[1] Found in *The Bland Papers*, vol. I, p. 133.

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of such an office, and have made him personally answerable in a high degree, it was that eager spirit with which he is said to have executed it, and which, if the representations before the council are to be credited, seems to have shown that his own feelings and disposition were in unison with his employment. The truth of these representations will be the subject of their inquiry shortly, and the treatment of Governor Hamilton will be mild or otherwise, as his conduct shall appear to merit, upon a more intimate examination. We trust it must furnish a contemplation highly pleasing to the generous soldier, to see honorable bravery respected, even by those against whom it happens to be enlisted, and discriminated from the cruel and cowardly warfare of the savage, whose object in war is to extinguish human nature.

By a letter dated May 27th, you were desired to discharge the militia under your command as soon as you judged it proper; lest that letter should have miscarried, I now enclose you a copy. Colonel Finnie informs me he has written to you to apply for clothes at Winchester, for the use of your regiment of guards, and of the horse now with you. He yesterday showed me a letter from the continental board of war, giving the same directions; he says also that he had lately written to you on the subject of the articles desired for your particular use, and that he is not enabled to procure them more fully.

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As to putting the horse now with you on the same pay-roll with the regiment of guards, the council are of opinion that either your own powers are competent to it, or at least that it may be done in concert with the continental paymaster. The regiment of guards is recognized as continental; the duty they are jointly engaged in is continental; they, therefore, wish that this matter should go into the continental line altogether, rather than be controlled by their interference, where it is not absolutely necessary. I am your most obedient servant, etc.

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.[1]

WILLIAMSBURG, June 17, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—I received your letter, and kind congratulations, for which I return you my thanks. In a virtuous government, and more especially in times like these, public offices are, what they should be, burthens to those appointed to them, which it would be wrong to decline, though foreseen to bring with them intense labor, and great private loss. I am, also, still to thank you for a former favor, enclosing a song and receipt. We have little new here. Colonel Clarke's expedition against St. Vincents you know of; his prisoners are arrived at Chesterfield, and three of them brought to this place to be severely dealt with; the enclosed paper will explain that matter. We have 300 men, under

[1] Found in Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee*, vol. II, p. 189.

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Colonel Bowman, in the Shawnee county, of whom we hope to receive good accounts: the destruction of the villages of the Cherokees, at Chuchamogga, and taking their goods, etc., has brought them to sue for peace; but the happiest stroke was the burning twenty-thousand bushels of corn, collected there for the use of the expeditions, which were to have been adopted at the great council. Governor Hamilton had called at the mouth of the Tanissee, as mentioned in the within paper. It is a cruel thought, that, when we feel ourselves standing on the firmest ground, in every respect, the cursed art of our secret enemies, combining with other causes, should effect, by depreciating our money, what the open arms of a powerful enemy could not. What is to be done? Taxation is become of no account, for it is foreseen, that, notwithstanding its increased amount, there will still be a greater deficiency than ever. I own I see no assured hope, but in peace, or a plentiful loan of hard money.

I shall be obliged by your letters, when convenient to you to write. I never was a punctual correspondent to any person, as I must own to my shame; perhaps my present office will put it more out of my power; however, as it may sometimes furnish me with matter which may induce me to hope my letters may be worth sending, I may venture to say, you shall hear from me whenever I can get over the two-fold difficulty of many letters of absolute necessity, to write, and an innate aversion to that kind of business.

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TO THEODORICK BLAND, JR.[1]

WILLIAMSBURGH, June 18th, 1779.

SIR,—Yours of the 14th instant came to hand this day. * * * With respect to Colonel Finnie, as a continental officer, we decline medling with his conduct; being yourself in the continental service, we take it for granted, that if he fails in his duty you will put him under a proper train of enquiry? His assurances to us are fair; one thing only I am to inform you, that however true it may be that he is without money, it is no just excuse for failing to do anything for the public service, because that was never permitted by the executive here, to be on sufferance for want of money. He never applied in vain, and we still are, as we ever have been, ready to lend him (as a continental officer) any monies, which the due discharge of his office may call for * * * and politeness at the least hardly permits them to suppose the duties of the post can be as well discharged by any other, as by yourself. But your health for that very reason is the more to be taken care of. You will please to permit Captain Bertling and Lieutenant Campbell to pass by land to the lower ferry of the Chickahominy, where the Flag lies, and finally settle the business, on which he came, according to the rules usual in their service. I enclose you the reasons, which have induced the council to act with such

[1] Found in *The Bland Papers*, vol. I, p. 138.

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rigor with Governor Hamilton and the others there. It is impossible for any generous man to disapprove his sentence. I am, sir, with much respect, your most obedient and most humble servant, etc.

TO GENERAL BARON DE RIEDESEL.[1]

FORREST, July 4, 1779.

SIR,—Your kind letter of June 19 I received on the 2d inst. It is now some time since Colonel Bland wrote for leave to grant Permits to Captain Bartling and Lieutenant Campbell to come to the Argyle flag. Leave was immediately given by letter to Colonel Bland. Some time after I received another letter from him, accompanied with one from General Phillips informing me that Lieutenant Campbell was come as far as Richmond, and waited for a permit to proceed. A permit was instantly made out and dispatched. Captain Bartling was not mentioned on that occasion and therefore no permit was made out for him. The 3d inst. was fixed for Lieutenant Campbell to be at the Flag to do his business, and it was only on the day before that your letter came to me by post. I shall instantly write to Captain Bartling giving him license to proceed, if his business remains still to be done, by a conveyance which occurs tomorrow. I thought it necessary to give you this

[1] From the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York City.

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detail of circumstances that any delays which may happen might be ascribed to those accidents which may have caused them.

I thank you for your kind congratulations; though condolations would be better suited to the occasion not only on account of the labors of the office to which I am called, and its withdrawing me from retirement, but also the loss of the agreeable society I have left of which Madame de Riedesel and yourself were an important part. Mrs. Jefferson in this particular sympathizes with me, and especially on her separation from Madame de Riedesel. We are told you set out for the Berkely springs about the middle of month. We fear that this excursion, necessary for your amusement to diversify the scenes of discomfort, may deprive us of the pleasure of seeing you when we come to Monticello the last of this month. We shall stay there about a month. Mrs. Jefferson joins me in compliments to yourself and Madame de Riedesel, I shall be able to execute her commission as to the spoons and bring them up with me.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF CANADA.

(SIR GUY CARLETON.)

WILLIAMSBURG, July 22d, 1779.

SIR,—Your letter on the subject of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton's confinement came safely to

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hand. I shall with great cheerfulness explain to you the reasons on which the advice of Council was founded, since after the satisfaction of doing what is right, the greatest is that of having what we do approved by those whose opinions deserve esteem.

We think ourselves justified in Governor Hamilton's strict confinement on the general principle of national retaliation. To state to you the particular facts of British cruelty to American prisoners, would be to give a melancholy history from the capture of Colonel Ethan Allen, at the beginning of the war to the present day, a history which I will avoid, as equally disagreeable to you and to me. I with pleasure do you the justice to say that I believe these facts to be very many unknown to you, as Canada has been the only scene of your service in America, and, in that quarter, we have reason to believe that Sir Guy Carleton, and the three officers commanding there, have treated our prisoners (since the instance of Colonel Allen) with considerable lenity. What has been done in England, and what in New York and Philadelphia, you are probably uninformed; as it would hardly be made the subject of epistolary correspondence. I will only observe to you, Sir, that the confinement and treatment of our officers, soldiers and seamen, have been so rigorous and cruel, as that a very great portion of the whole of those captured in the course of this war, and carried to Philadelphia

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while in possession of the British army and to New York, have perished miserably from that cause only; and that this fact is as well established with us, as any historical fact which has happened in the course of the war. A Gentleman of this Commonwealth in public office, and of known and established character, who was taken on the sea, carried to New York and exchanged, has given us lately a particular information of the treatment of our prisoners there. Officers taken by land, it seems, are permitted to go on parole within certain limits of Long Island, till suggestions shall be made to their prejudice by some Tory refugee, or other equally worthless person, when they are hurried to the Provot in New York, without enquiring "whether they be founded upon positive facts, be matter of hearsay, or taken from the reports of interested men." The example of enquiring into the truth of charges of this nature according to legal principles of evidence, has surely not been set us by our enemies. We enquired what these Provots were and were told they were the common miserable jails, built for the confinement of malefactors. Officers and men taken by sea were kept in prison ships infested with [ ] ught on by the crowd [ ][1] from five to ten a day. When, therefore, we are desired to the possible consequence of treating prisoners with rigor,

[1] The brackets indicate that several lines at the bottom of one of the pages of this letter are missing.

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I need only ask when did those rigors begin? not with us assuredly. I think you, Sir, who have had as good opportunities as any British officer of learning in what manner we treat those whom the fortune of war has put in our hands can clear us from the charge of rigor as far as your knowledge or information has extended. I can assert that Governor Hamilton's is the first instance which has occurred in my own country, and, if there has been another in any of the United States, it is unknown to me; these instances must have been extremely rare, if they have ever existed at all, or they could not have been altogether unheard of by me, when a uniform exercise of kindness to prisoners on our part has been returned by as uniform severity on the part of our enemies. You must excuse me for saying it is high time, by other lessons, to teach respect to the dictates of humanity, in such a case retaliation becomes an act of humanity.

But suppose, Sir, we were willing still longer to decline the drudgery of general retaliation, yet Governor Hamilton's conduct has been such as to call for exemplary punishment on him personally. In saying this I have not so much in view his particular cruelties to our Citizens, prisoners with him (which though they have been great, were of necessity confined to a small scale) as the general nature of the service he undertook at Detroit and the extensive exercise of cruelties which they

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involved. Those who act together in war are answerable for each other. No distinction can be made between principal and ally by those against whom the war is waged. He who employs another to do a deed makes the deed his own. If he calls in the hand of the assassin or murderer, himself becomes the assassin or murderer. The known rule of warfare of the Indian Savages is an indiscriminate butchery of men, women and children. These savages, under this well known character, are employed by the British Nation as allies in the war against the Americans. Governor Hamilton undertakes to be the conductor of the war. In the execution of that undertaking, he associates small parties of the whites under his immediate command with large parties of the savages, and sends them to act, sometimes jointly, and sometimes separately, not against our forts or armies in the field, but the farming settlements on our frontiers. Governor Hamilton is himself the butcher of men, women and children. I will not say to what length the fair rules of war would extend the right of punishment against him; but I am sure that confinement under its strictest circumstances, for Indian devastation and massacre must be deemed lenity. I apprehend you had not sufficiently adverted to the expression in the advice of the Council when you suppose the proclamation there alluded to, to be the one addressed to the inhabitants of the Illinois afterwards printed in the public papers and to be

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affirmed to contain 'denun
[ ][1] ians'
Proclamation, there alluded to, contained nothing more than an invitation to our officers and soldiers to join British arms against those whom he is pleased to call Rebels and Traitors. In order to introduce these among our people, they were put into the hands of the Indians; and in every house, where they murdered or carried away the family, they left one of these proclamations, some of them were found sticking on the breasts of the persons murdered, one under the hand and seal of Governor Hamilton came to our hands. The Indians being the bearers of proclamations under the hand and seal of Governor Hamilton (no matter what was the subject of them) there can be no doubt they were acting under his direction, and, as including this proof, the fact was cited in the advice of the Council. But if you will be so good as to recur to the address of the Illinois, which you refer to, you will find that, though it does not in express terms threaten vengeance, blood and massacre, yet it proves that the Governor had made for us the most ample provision of all these calamities. He there gives in detail the horrid catalogue of savage nations, extending from South to North whom he had leagued with himself to wage combined war on our frontiers; and it is well known that that war would of course be made up of blood and general massacres of men,

[1] Two lines missing.

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women and children. Other papers of Governor Hamilton's have come to our hands containing instructions to officers going out with scalping parties of Indians and Whites, and proving that kind of war was waged under his express orders; further proofs in abundance might be adduced, but I suppose the fact is too notorious to need them.

Your letter seems to admit an inference that, whatever may have been the general conduct of our enemies towards their prisoners, or whatever the personal conduct of Governor Hamilton, yet, as a prisoner by capitulation, you consider him as privileged from strict confinement. I do not pretend to an intimate knowledge of this subject. My idea is that the term "prisoners of war" is a generic one, the specification of which is—1st Prisoner at discretion; and 2d prisoners on convention or capitulation. Thus in the debate of the house of Commons of the 27th November last, on the address, the minister, speaking of General Burgoyne (and in his presence) says he is "a prisoner," and General Burgoyne calls himself "a prisoner under the terms of the Convention of Saratoga," intimating that though a prisoner, he is a prisoner of a particular species entitled to certain terms. The treatment of the first class ought to be such as to be approved by the usage of polished nations; gentle and humane unless a contrary conduct in an enemy or individual, render a stricter treatment necessary. The prisoners

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of the second class have nothing to exempt them from a like treatment with those of the first except so far as they shall have been able to make better terms by articles of Capitulation. So far then as these shall have provided for an exemption from strict treatment so prisoners on Capitulation have a right to be distinguished from those at discretion [ ][1] certain causes antecedent thereto, though such instances might be produced, from English history, too, and in one case where the King himself commanded in person. Marshal Boufflers after the taking of the castle Namur was arrested and detained prisoner of war by King William though by an article of capitulation it was stipulated that the officers and soldiers of the garrison in general, and Marshal Boufflers by name should be at liberty. However, we waive reasoning on this head because no article in the Capitulation of Governor Hamilton is violated by his confinement. Perhaps not having seen the Capitulation, you were led to suppose it a thing of course that being able to obtain terms of surrender, they would first provide for their own treatment. I enclose you a copy of the Capitulation, by which you will see that 2d Article declares them prisoners of war; and nothing is said as to the treatment they were to be entitled to. When Governor Hamilton signs, indeed, he adds a flourish, containing the motives inducing him to capitulate, one of which

[1] Two lines missing.

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was confidence in a generous enemy. He should have reflected that generosity on a large scale would take side against him. However, these were only his private motives and did not enter into the contract with Colonel Clarke. Being prisoners of war then, with only such privileges as their Capitulation had provided, and that having provided nothing on the subject of their treatment, they are liable to be treated as other prisoners. We have not extended our order, as we might justifiably have done to the whole of this corps. Governor Hamilton and Captain Lamothe alone, as leading offenders, are in confinement. The other officers and men are treated as if they had been taken in justifiable war; the officers being at large on their parole, and the men also having their liberty to a certain extent. Dejean was not included in the Capitulation, being taken 8 days after on the Wabache 150 miles from St. Vincennes.

I hope, Sir, that being made more fully acquainted with the facts on which the advice of Council was grounded, and exercising your own good sense in cool and candid deliberation on these facts, and the consequences deducible from them according to the usages and sentiments of civilized nations, you will see the transaction in a very different light from that in which it appeared at the time of writing your letter, and ascribe the advice of the Council, not to want of attention to the sacred nature of public conventions, of which I hope we shall never,

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in any circumstances, lose sight, but to a desire of stopping the effusion of ye unoffending blood of women and children, and the unjustifiable severities exercised on our captive officers and soldiers in general, by proper severities on our part. I have the honor to be with much personal respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO COLONEL WILLIAM FLEMING.[1]

ALBEMARLE, Aug. 7, 1779.

SIR,—The enclosed order will explain to you the general plan adopted for regimenting, officering and stationing the two Western battalions. We are in hopes you will so far proceed in concert with the other commissioners as that the chain of posts to be recommended may form a complete western defence, leaving no chasm in the middle. We wish you, when you report the stations proposed, to advise us also to what particular station it will be best for the men of each county respectively to go. As it will not be long before the men ought to be raised according to the directions of the law, and it will be proper for the Executive to pay immediate attention to the procuring arms and camp utensils for them. I should, therefore, be glad if you will be so good as to lay before them a state of the arms in your possession or at any other convenient station:

[1] From the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York City.

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also for your opinion what proportion of the men should be furnished with rifles, where rifles are to be had and on what terms.

TO THE COUNTY LIEUTENANT OF HAMPSHIRE.[1]

August 17, 1779.

SIR,—You are desired to call together your Field Officers and in conjunction with them to recommend to the Executive a Captain and Lieutenant to take command in one of the battalions to be raised for the defence of the western frontier, under an act of the late Assembly entitled an act for raising a body of troops for the defence of the Commonwealth. The men to be raised in your County under the same act, and the Officers to be recommended by you, are to hold themselves in readiness on the shortest warning to proceed to such western rendezvous as shall be notified to them by the Executive or the Field Officer who shall be directed to take command of them.

Be pleased to transmit your recommendations to the Executive in Williamsburgh by the earliest opportunity you can, and also to report to them from time to time your progress in raising your men.

[1] Copy of a letter belonging to Hon. Elliot Danforth, of Albany, N. Y.

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TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

(JOHN JAY.)

WILLIAMSBURG, Sept. 25, 1779.

SIR,—The various calamities which during the present year have befallen our crops of wheat, have reduced them so very low as to leave us little more than seed for the ensuing year, were it to be solely applied to that purpose. This country is, therefore, unable to furnish the necessary supplies of flour for the convention troops, without lessening, by so much as should be purchased, the sowing for another crop. I am, therefore, to submit to you, Sir, the expediency of ordering your Commissary General to send supplies of this article from the Head of Elk or wherever else you may think best, to Richmond. Colonel Aylett informs us they will require about ten thousand barrels for a year's supply. We hope there will be a plenty of forage and of all other articles, necessary for their subsistence, raised within this State.

TO CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE, THE FRENCH MINISTER.[1]

IN COUNCIL, NOV. 10, 1779.

SIR,—In compliance with the request which you were pleased to lay before us, I am now to authorize

[1] Copied from the original letter owned by Hon. Elliot Danforth, of Albany.

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the forces of his most Christian Majesty to land in such place, and his vessels to withdraw into such harbors of this Commonwealth as the Admiral or other commanding officer shall think proper, and to procure houses for the purpose of hospitals. In determining on the place of his debarkation and encampment, he will be pleased to follow his own judgment; receiving from us his information that the farther he can withdraw his vessels up our rivers into the country, the more it would be in our power to assist in defending them against any attack from the enemy.

York river according to our present idea would offer itself as the most defensible, but in this, etc., the board of war will issue orders for their immediate supply of provisions from our magazines, and will aid them with such of our vessels as may be necessary for procuring further supplies and landing their sick and other purposes.

These general resources seem to be all we can take for their present relief, till their wants shall be more particularly laid before us. We beg leave to take this early occasion to assure you that we shall receive into our State the forces of his most Christian Majesty with the utmost cordiality and spare nothing which shall be within our power to aid and accommodate them in whatever situation they shall choose.

But in this or any other we greatly apprehend the difficulties and distresses which may arise from the want of proper houses for hospitals.

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I shall take great pleasure in showing on every occasion which shall occur, my personal gratitude and affection to your nation, and the particular esteem with which I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, April 10th, 1780.

SIR,—The state of the recruiting business in this country is as follows: There are some draughted soldiers in different parts of the country, but they are so far, so disposed, and enlisted for so short a time that we have not thought them worth the expense of gathering up. There are recruits raising under a standing law concerning officers, soldiers, sailors and marines; these are enlisted for the war by a person resident in each county. We have an Officer appointed who rides the circuit of the County once in two months to receive these men at certain places of rendezvous. He has just finished his circuit, and we have sent on about fifty of these recruits under the command of Captain Minnis to the southward. All the officers of the Virginia Line now in the State, who have (according to a request of the Executive) applied for recruiting instructions and money, have received them. These have been given with a particular view of reenlisting such soldiers of their respective regiments, as are discharged, or

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are entitled to a discharge. I hear they are tolerably successful; as to the 1st and 2d State Regiments particularly, there not having been money in the treasury enough to reenlist them at the time they became entitled to discharges, their officers (as I am informed) postponed paying them off, gave them furloughs to visit their friends till the 1st of May, at which time they were to rendezvous at Williamsburg and Fredericksburg, and it was hoped money would then be ready for reenlisting them. In the meantime considerable sums have been furnished the officers, and more will be provided, and there is good reason to hope this Judicious[1] of their officers will enable us to recover most of them. Colonel Harrison's regiment of artillery is very considerably recruited. Under the preceding state of things, I do not know of any immediate service with which we need to trouble you: perhaps you could be instrumental in getting orders from the proper authority for such of the above regiments as are not ordered to the southward to march thither by fifties as far as they are recruited. We have such orders for all other new recruits not yet regimented; but I do not consider those as orders authorizing the march of men raised by the officers of a particular battalion for their battalion, and that not under marching orders.

[1] The adjective judicious is capitalized and made a noun in the MS.

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TO GENERAL EDWARD STEVENS.

RICHMOND, July 19, 1780.

SIR,—I think it proper to inclose you a paragraph from a late Act of Assembly putting the militia with you under martial law; it is the only part of the Act which relates at all to the militia, for which reason I do not send the whole Act, the clerks being very busy. This Act having been made after the militia went on duty may perhaps be thought by them to be in the nature of an ex post facto law; but as it is in your power to restrain its penalties from all acts previous to its promulgation by you and even, if you please, from all subsequent ones except desertion, and such others as you shall find necessary, they may perhaps think it less hard.

TO JAMES MADISON.[1]

RICHMOND, July 26, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—With my letter to the President I enclose a copy of the bill for calling in the paper money now in circulation, being the only copy I have been able to get. In my letter to the Delegates, I ask the favor of them to furnish me with authentic advice when the resolutions of Congress shall have been adopted by five other States. In a private

[1] Copied from a letter belonging to Hon. Elliot Danforth, of Albany.

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letter I may venture to urge great dispatch and to assign the reasons.

The bill on every vote prevailed, but by small majorities; and on one occasion it escaped by two voices only. Its friends are very apprehensive that those who disapprove of it, will be active in the recess of Assembly to produce a general repugnance to it, and to prevail on the Assembly in October to repeal it. They therefore think it of the utmost consequence to get it into a course of execution before the Assembly meets. I have stated in my public letter to you what we shall consider as authentic advice, lest a failure in that article should increase the delay. If you cannot otherwise get copies of the bill, it would be worth while to be at some extraordinary expense to do it.

Some doubt has arisen here to which quarter our 3000 draughts are to go, as Congress directed 5000 militia to be raised and sent to the southward, including what were ordered there and these 3000 (which I think will be 3500) draughts are raised in lieu of so many militia.

The matter seems clear enough when we consider that a fourth or fifth of the enemy's force are in South Carolina. It could not be expected that North Carolina which contains but a tenth of the American militia, should be left to support the southern war alone, more especially when the regular force to the northward and the expected aids are taken into the scale. I doubt more whether the balance

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of the 1,900,000 dollars are meant by Congress to be sent northwardly, because in a resolution subsequent to the requisition of the sum before mentioned, they seem to appropriate all the moneys from Maryland southward to the southern military chest. We shall be getting ready the balance in which great disappointments have arisen from an inability to sell our tobacco, and in the meantime wish I could be advised whether it is to go northward or southward. The aids of money from the State through the rest of the present year will be small, our taxes being effectually anticipated by certificates issued for want of money and for which the sheriffs are glad to exchange their collections rather than bring them to the treasury. Congress desired North Carolina and Virginia to recruit, remount, and equip Washington's and White's horse. The whole has been done by us except as to 200 saddles which the Quartermaster expects to get from the northward. This draws from us about six or seven hundred thousand pounds, the half of which I suppose is so much more than was expected from us. We took on us the whole, because we supposed North Carolina would be considerably burthened with calls for occasional horse, in the present low state of our cavalry, and that the disabled horses would be principally to be exchanged there for fresh.

Our troops are in the utmost distress for clothing as are also our officers. What we are to do with the 3000 draughts when they are raised I cannot foresee.

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Our new institution at the College has had a success which has gained it universal applause. Wythe's school is numerous, they hold weekly courts and assemblies in the Capitol. The professors join in it, and the young men dispute with elegance, method and learning. This single school by throwing from time to time new hands well principled, and well informed into the legislature, will be of infinite value.

TO MAJOR WALL.[1]

December 21st, 1780.

SIR,—I laid before the Council the Rev. Mr. Fanning's letter to Mr. Tazewell together with the letters and other papers found on Mr. Wickham—The general expectations of remaining in this country, with which the enemy (and probably) this young gentleman came into it, the political character of the gentleman under whose auspices he came, his not leaving the enemy till they were obliged to retire, and the complexion of his own journals and letters, are circumstances which place him, in their belief, among the enemies of this country. Nothing appears which even leads to a suspicion that a difference in political sentiment was among the motives which led him from his connections with the enemy to seek a union with this country.

[1] Published in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. II, p. 205.

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The manner of his effecting his transition from the one party to the other, was not likely to produce any other than a hostile reception—he becomes an enemy from an enemy, in the midst of our country, with arms in their hands, attempts to pass without application to, or leave from, any officer civil or military, and to bear letters, negotiating an interview between an officer high in the adverse command, and citizens of this State. Under these unfavourable circumstances, the Board cannot but deem him an enemy, and (being within our power) a prisoner of war—They are at the same time as thoroughly satisfied of the decided principles of Whigism which have distinguished the character of the Rev. Mr. Fanning, that they shall think this young gentleman perfectly safe under his care, so long as he stays in this State; to him, therefore, they remit him until a flag, daily expected from New York into Potomac River, shall be returning to that place, when they shall expect him to take his passage back, first calling on the Commissioner of the War Office to give a proper parole.

TO ———— ?[1]

IN COUNCIL, December 21, 1780.

SIR,—I have received authority from the Legislature to provide clothing and blankets for the

[1] Published in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. XIV, p. 244.

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troops by seizing the same which will be accompanied by endeavors to purchase. Agents are out procuring salted beef and others setting out to procure pork in as large quantities as they are to be had to be stored on the Roanoke and its navigable waters. Ten thousand barrels of flour will certainly be provided; the number of wagons which have been delivered to the Continental Quartermaster since the date of General Gates' requisition I have not yet been able to procure a return of, nor the quantities of spirits delivered to the Continental Commissary; considerable deliveries of both articles have been made. Any other measures which may have been taken by the Assembly for further compliance with the requisitions of General Greene are yet uncommunicated to me; as arms were never among the requisitions made by Congress on the several States, this State never supposed it would be expected they should provide that article for their quota of Continental troops; they have only had in view to procure from time to time so many as might arm their militia when necessity required the calling them into service. From this stock they have furnished arms for Continental use till it is so reduced that they have not the smallest prospect of being able from the State magazines to spare as many as will arm their new Continental levies.

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TO ROWLAND MADISON.

RICHMOND, December 24th, 1780.

SIR,—It being found necessary to undertake an expedition into the country beyond the Ohio, you are desired to apply for and receive from Mr. Callaway of New London under the order inclosed one thousand weight of good musket or rifle powder and to conduct the same to Montgomery court house. You are also to apply for and receive fifteen weight of lead from the manager of the lead mines under an order likewise inclosed and to convey it to the same place. You are moreover to act as Quartermaster and Commissary for the militia from Green Brier one hundred and thirty seven in number who are ordered to rendezvous at Montgomery court house by the 20th day of February next and to proceed thence with them to the falls of Ohio. You will, therefore, provide subsistence for them and forage necessary for the march, and are hereby authorized to call on any commissioners of the provision law or commissaries having public provisions in their hands to furnish you. You are moreover desired to purchase three hundred pack horses, pack saddles, halters and bells, which may serve to carry the ammunition before mentioned, provisions and the baggage of the men to the falls of Ohio where the whole will be received by Colonel Clarke and your office determined. We expect you will purchase these horses for £1500 a piece, though

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aware of this necessity for purchasing them, we do not limit you absolutely in price, but rely on your discretion to get them as cheap as you can. For these several purposes you receive £500,000—take great care to obtain such authority and protection from the commanding officer of the militia that your horses may not be subject to be rode or unnecessarily burthened, and that you may be able to deliver them in good condition at the falls of Ohio. I am to warn you to use the greatest expedition in performing these several duties, and to see that you be in readiness with every thing required of you at Montgomery court house by the 20th day of February as a failure on your part will inevitably defeat the whole design. Your accounts are to be finally settled with the board of auditors.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.[1]

RICHMOND, December 31st, 1780.

SIR,—I have this moment received information that 27 sail of vessels, 18 of which were square rigged, were yesterday morning just below Willoughby's Point. No other circumstance being given to conjecture their force or destination, I am only able to dispatch General Nelson into the lower country, to take such measures as exigencies may require for the instant, until further information is

[1] Copy of the original letter belonging to the Sparks Manuscripts of Harvard University.

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received here. Then or in the mean time your aid and counsel will be deemed valuable.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS NELSON.

RICHMOND, January 2d, 1781.

SIR,—It happened unfortunately from the tenor of Mr. Wray's letter which gave us the first intelligence of the appearance of an enemy we had reason to expect more precise information within a few hours: none such having come within fifty hours, the first intelligence had become totally disbelieved. At 10 o'clock this morning I first received confirmation of it. Orders go out by the members of Assembly to call together half the militia of the most convenient counties for present opposition and one fourth from more distant counties. We mean to have four thousand six hundred militia in the field. In this number is not included any below this county. Hanover, Chesterfield, Dinwiddie, Sussex and Southampton, all below these counties we have left uncalled on to be drawn by you (or such of them as you think proper) into such parts of the lower country as you shall think best. Mr. Brown the Commissary has orders to send a deputy to furnish you with provisions. I do myself the pleasure of sending you a Commission. I pray you to send as frequent intelligence as possible. Expresses being in readiness for this purpose at Williamsburg and New Kent Court House. Be pleased to give

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the same notice to the militia as formerly that no man will be ever discharged till he shall have returned whatever public arms or accoutrements he shall have received: be also particular in noting what is delivered to every man. We mean to appoint the field officers on the same plan as in the former invasion from the resigned and supernumerary, preserving the ranks of those gentlemen accurately as among themselves.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

January 2d, 1781.

SIR,—I have this moment received a confirmation of the arrival of a hostile fleet consisting of 19 ships, 2 brigs, and 10 sloops and schooners. The advance of the fleet were yesterday morning in Warrasqueak Bay, and just getting into motion up the river with a favorable wind and tide: their destination from the intelligence of deserters and some captured mariners, whom they put on shore, is somewhere up the river, supposed to be Petersburg. We shall be very glad of the aid of your counsel in determining on the force to be collected, and other circumstances necessary to be attended to, for the purpose of opposition, if it be convenient for you to call on the Council immediately.

[1] Copied from a letter in the Sparks Manuscripts belonging to Harvard University.

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TO COLONEL FRANCIS TAYLOR.

IN COUNCIL, January 4, 1781.

SIR,—The enemy now appear to be pushing to this place and we know not how much further they may attempt to penetrate. A suspicion that the Conventioners might be induced to attempt a co-operation and by that means distract the efforts of our people renders it necessary that in the instant of your receiving this you put those troops into motion without waiting for their baggage or anything else, within a very few hours we expect you may throw the whole across the Blue Ridge and it may be well for you to call on the counties of Augusta, Amherst and Albemarle to collect a force at Rockfish gap to oppose any pursuit. I would not have those counties on account of such a call withhold the militia required to come here. They must furnish so many additional as you call for. A multiplicity of business puts it out of my power to send you written powers of impress. But you must exercise that power for every purpose only requiring you to keep exact lists of their certificates to be returned to the auditors as directed on a former occasion.

TO COLONEL RICHARD MEADE.

IN COUNCIL, January 4, 1781.

SIR,—The present invasion having rendered it necessary to call into the field a large body of militia

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the providing them with subsistence, and the means of transportation becomes an arduous task in the unorganized state of our military system. To effect this we are obliged to vest the heads of the Commissary's and Quartermaster's Departments with such powers as if abused will be most afflicting to the people. Major-General Baron Steuben taught by experience on similar occasions has pressed on us the necessity of calling to the superintendence of these officers some gentleman of distinguished character and abilities, who, while he prescribes to them such rules as will effectually produce the object of their appointment, will yet stand between them and the people as a guard from oppression. Such a gentleman he would propose to consider as of his family; under the exigency we have taken the liberty of casting our eyes on yourself as most likely to fulfill our wishes and, therefore, solicit your undertaking this charge; in doing this we rely on the impulse of purer motives than those which would spring from any pecuniary reward it is our power to offer. At the same time we cannot with justice permit that any expenses incurred in such a station should be borne by yourself. I shall hope to receive your answer by the return of the bearer.

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TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.[1]

MANCHESTER, Jany. 7th, 1781.

SIR,—Your letter of this morning on the subject of finding where the arms have been sent and having them put into the hands of the militia I have this morning received. I think most of the arms have been sent off in different directions by the orders of Colonel Davies, whom I believe to be, therefore, best acquainted with their situation. If I did not misunderstand him to-day he has accordingly directed particular bodies of militia to go to particular places to receive arms. However (if I do not go to Richmond to-night which I have some thought of doing) I will write to Colonel Muter to appoint some proper person to undertake and execute this business immediately as you desire; as I wish exceedingly to relieve you from every unnecessary embarrassment when I know you are exposed to but too many which are unavoidable.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.[1]

MANCHESTER, Jan. 7th, 1781.

SIR,—I have thought myself very unfortunate in missing of you for two days though riding over the same ground on which you were. On my arrival here I was informed you were at Ampshill

[1] Copied from the original letter belonging to the Sparks Manuscripts, of Harvard University.

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and was setting out for there, when a gentleman came who assured me you were at Ozborne's and having rode thirty miles through the rain, I have not resolution enough to undertake to go to Ozborne's this evening.

I received your letter of yesterday at Westham at noon. I fear it will be impossible to furnish the thousand stand of arms you desire. Colonel Davies has sent some hundreds from Westham to different places to be put into the hands of the militia coming in. He has undertaken to have those remaining there separated, in order that such as are capable of being used may be sent to you, and I have engaged persons who are gone out to impress wagons to transport them to you. Colonel Davies seemed doubtful to what place they should be ordered. I mean to continue here or at Richmond to see whether I can collect the several staff officers of the State, and have the benefit of their services on the present occasion. I shall be very happy to aid those of the Continent with every power I am invested with. While at either of these places I shall be able to communicate both with yourself and General Nelson, and to do everything you will be pleased to suggest for the service. I fear the want of arms fit for service will be a most distressing circumstance. Are there no Continental arms which can be used on the present occasion? I mean to endeavor to collect hands and tools immediately to repair arms. Tools will be the most difficult to be procured.

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TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, January 9, 1781.

SIR,—Mr. Granville Smith, a State Quartermaster, now waits on you. As I am not thoroughly acquainted with the Continental regulations, I shall just mention to you my ideas on this particular matter without laying any stress on them and leave to your determination the propriety of using Mr. Smith. I have ever understood that the rule of Congress was to admit no expenses to be Continental which were incurred by any State merely under an apprehension of an invasion; but that whenever a State was actually invaded all expenses became Continental. This I know was the rule while I was a member of Congress, but as it is four years since I was a member of Congress, I cannot affirm of my own knowledge, though I have understood that it is still the rule. The practice here has accordingly been for the Continental Quartermaster to come into duty as soon as the State has been invaded; he being appointed under the authority of Congress, it has been supposed that he could best regulate all expenses according to the Continental rules. The State Quartermaster not being appointed under Congress, not possessing their confidence, nor subject to their removal or punishment, seems for these reasons an improper person to dispense their monies. I submit these matters, however, altogether to yourself. Should you think

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it proper that the State Quartermaster should act, Mr. Smith is instructed to receive your orders: he is a discreet and sensible person.

TO COLONEL JOHN NICHOLAS.

January 10, 1781.

Sir,—I am not fond of encouraging an intercourse with the enemy for the recovery of property; however I shall not forbid it while conducted on principles which are fair and general. If the British Commander chooses to discriminate between the several species of property taken from the people; if he chooses to say he will restore all of one kind, and retain all of another, I am contented that individuals shall avail themselves of this discrimination; but no distinctions of persons must be admitted. The moment it is proposed that the same species of property shall be restored to one which is refused to another, let every application to him for restitution be prohibited. The principles by which his discrimination would be governed are but too obvious, and they are the reverse of what we should approve.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS NELSON.

Richmond, Jany. 12, 1781.

The enemy left a number of horses at Westover which they had taken during the late incursion,

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Colonel Nicholas very properly ordered a party to take charge of them and bring them to the Quartermaster where they might be kept for the owners to come and claim them; but I am well informed that in the meantime several men of Captain Hockaday's command of Charles City have plundered and carried them off. These men being under your command I beg you to take the most coercive measures for compelling a restitution and letting them know that the most rigorous and exemplary punishment will be inflicted on every man who shall be known to have one of them and not to deliver him up. Such as are recovered be so good as to have brought up. The mischief done us by our citizens plundering one another has far exceeded what the enemy did.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, Jany. 13, 1781.

SIR,—I received your favor of the 11th by Mr. Smith. I cannot say at what point of time the expenses attending an invasion become Continental. I suppose Congress have some fixed rule on that subject, which, whatever it be when applied to all the States, will be equal.

From the time at which they called for specie quotas of provisions from the several States, they seem to have considered their purchasing Commissaries as useless, and, therefore, desired us, whenever

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we should have appointed a person to furnish the specifics, we would discontinue their purchasing Commissaries. We appointed Mr. Brown to procure the specifics, which he is either to deliver to certain store keepers appointed by the Continental Quartermasters or to the Continental issuing Commissaries. I think, therefore, Mr. Brown may continue to act with you with propriety and I hope he will with effect. We did not discontinue Continental Deputy Commissary of purchases here (Major Forsyth) but his acceptance of a similar office in another quarter seems to have determined his former commission. I have heard nothing from the enemy since their reaching Sandy Point; this leaves me very anxious for our shipyard up the Chickahominy.

I have lately received some dispatches which render it necessary for Colonel Clarke to proceed immediately to the western country. I have written to him on this subject, and hope he will obtain your permission to return. I did not expect at the time he went to you that his stay would have been rendered so short.

If this incursion of the enemy should much longer postpone the execution of the late law for raising new levies, it will be among its worst effects. Yet this law cannot be carried into execution in those counties from which militia are sent. Foreseeing this, when you had favored us with your advice as to the numbers which should be called into the field we confined the call to the following

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counties, and requiring from each a fourth we expected the following numbers:

Halifax 247	Albemarle ...218	Lunenburg 168
Charlotte.....156	Fluvanna 65	Mecklenburg....212
Prince Edward.142	Goochland 145	Brunswick 325
Bedford 325	Cumberland 102	Dinwiddie 175
Buckingham ...162	Powhatan 71	Chesterfield 164
Amherst 224	Amelia 275	Henrico 155
Sussex 175	Southampton ...218	Rockbridge.....146
Augusta.....344	Rockingham....219	Shenandoah 216

Total 4650

The whole amount is something larger than you desired but we of course expected deficiencies. Some of the adjacent counties were called on at first for one half, and afterwards the whole of their militia for present defence. In like manner General Nelson was authorized to call on certain other counties for present defence; but it was meant that as soon as the proportions above mentioned from the counties particularly named were come in, all others should be dismissed. I state this matter to you supposing you will think with me that the sooner you can begin the business of arranging your force on the plan originally intended, the better it will be. As soon as the whole militia of the counties, not meant to be kept in the field, can be discharged we will send the act into those counties and have it carried into execution.

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TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS NELSON.

RICHMOND, Jany. 15th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—I have never heard a tittle of the enemy since your information that they were at Sandy Point the day after they left Westover; nor is anything known at this place as to their subsequent movements. As this want of intelligence might eventually be fatal, I have ordered an express to be stationed at Bottom's Bridge, another at New Kent Court House, a third at Bird's tavern, a fourth at Williamsburg, a fifth half way between that and Hampton, and a sixth at Hampton. It will be easy for Mr. Kemp to throw letters from you whereever situated into this line and as each rider will have but 15 miles out and the same back, they may if necessary be put into motion every day. By the same means you may have communication with Hampton. Your business may probably put it out of your power to write so often, but hope that some of the gentlemen about you may be able to give us intelligence every day or two.

TO JACOB WRAY.

RICHMOND, Jany. 15th, 1781.

For want of intelligence may be ascribed a great part of, if not the whole of the enemy's late successful incursions to this place. They appeared in the Bay on the Saturday, no notification of it addressed

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to the Executive came to hand till 10 o'clock A. M. on Tuesday. There did, indeed, on Sunday morning come to my hands a letter which you were so kind to write to General Nelson informing him that 27 sail had been seen in the Bay and that Commodore Barron had gone to reconnoitre them more closely. But as it was not known whether they were friends or foes, and we hoped more particular intelligence on the return of Commodore Barron, none but the lower militia were called out, till the Tuesday following, by which two days were completely lost: which would have added so much to the collection of militia in this quarter as to have rendered doubtful at least whether the enemy could have got here.

I mention these circumstances to show you the necessity of our being better furnished with intelligence of the enemy's movements, and to apologize for my troubling you with the task of communicating everything interesting through the line of expresses stationed at every 15 miles from hence to Hampton. One is to be fixed by Mr. Kemp at Hampton, will set out on yours or Commodore Barron's orders and deliver his dispatches to the next who is ordered to be stationed half way between Hampton and Williamsburg: the particular place I cannot inform you, but the express may do it. I hope you will be so good as to undertake this trouble and to continue it so long as it may be necessary to keep up the line.

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TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS NELSON.

RICHMOND, January 15, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—As I suppose by this time you may have more men than arms, and there are no more arms fit for use remaining in the public stock, economy will require that the surplus militia be discharged. This measure is the more necessary as the law for raising new levies remains unexecuted while the militia are from the counties. I shall, therefore, take the liberty of pointing out to you, as I have done to Baron Steuben, what particular militia should be first discharged. On confirmation of the intelligence that a hostile fleet had arrived we asked the advice of Baron Steuben as to the numbers which should be brought into the field: He advised 4000: we, therefore, called on the following counties for one fourth of their militia, which we expected would produce the numbers as annexed to them, viz:

Halifax 247	Cumberland 102	Sussex 175
Buckingham ...162	Mecklenburg....212	Rockingham ...219
Goochland.....145	Henrico 155	Bedford.....325
Lunenburg 169	Augusta 344	Fluvanna 65
Chesterfield 164	Prince Edward ..142	Amelia 275
Rockbridge 146	Albemarle 218	Dinwiddie.....175
Charlotte 156	Powhatan 71	Southampton...218
Amherst 224	Brunswick 325	Shenandoah 216

The amount (4650) was greater than the Baron's requisition because we of course expected deficiencies. The above were intended to be kept in the

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field for some time; but some of these counties were distant, we called on those in the neighborhood of this place at first for one half and afterwards for all their fighting men for present defence, meaning that as soon as those before enumerated should be in the field, those called for present defence should be discharged. In like manner you are authorized for the purpose of hasty opposition to call out certain counties, which it was likewise our idea to discharge on receiving the force which was to remain. Whenever, therefore, all your arms shall be taken up, should more militia come in we would choose that you discharge so many of those counties not originally called on, or of those which though originally called on have yet more than one fourth in the field. By these means we shall in time have in the field the militia of those particular counties only which were first called on, and the other counties being all at home we may proceed to send to them the law for raising levies in order to its execution.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

RICHMOND, Jan'y 16, 1781.

SIR,—Your favors of the 14th and 31st December remain unanswered. I have been less attentive to the communication of our progress in preparing for the southern war as Baron Steuben who knows all our movements gives you no doubt full information from time to time. The present invasion of this

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State you have been before apprised of by the Baron. The very extraordinary and successful attempt of the enemy on this place you will also have heard of. The enclosed paper containing a pretty exact narrative of it I take the liberty of transmitting to you. The enemy, on the Baron's approaching towards Hood's, hoisted sail and with the assistance of a very fine gale which sprung up in the instant, they fell down the river in a very short time. When they came we were in a very fine way of providing both subsistence and men; they have amazingly interrupted both operations: the latter indeed has been totally suspended. I have just written to Baron Steuben so to arrange his force of militia, as by permitting those from the greater number of counties to return home, to put into our power to have the law for raising regulars carried into execution. This his anxiety for a regular force will lead him to do with all practicable expedition.

Your bill in favor of Mr. St. Laurence is accepted, and will be paid as soon as the several boards resume business. When the departure of the enemy, or indications of their fixed plans as to this country shall have enabled me to judge how far they will interrupt our succors to you, I will take the earliest opportunity of stating to you under every head of your requisitions from us what we shall have a prospect of doing.

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TO ABNER NASH, GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA.

RICHMOND, Jany. 16, 1781.

SIR,—I am honored with your Excellency's favor of the 3d instant and am to thank you for your permission and countenance to our pork purchases.

The late invasion of this State by the enemy should not have been so long uncommunicated to you by me, but that the very extraordinary movement they made was such in its nature as to allow little time to those concerned in Government to think of anything but the providing means of opposition and in the mean time withdrawing everything from their power. From a fatal inattention to the giving us due notice of the arrival of a hostile force two days were completely lost in calling together the militia: a time which events proved would have added so much of our collection of militia as to have rendered doubtful their getting from this place. The winds favoring them in a remarkable degree they almost brought news themselves of their movements. They were landed within twenty-six miles of this place before we had reason to suspect they would aim at it. The little interval of twenty-three hours between that and their actual arrival here was assiduously and successfully employed in withdrawing the public stores from hence and from Westham seven miles above this. This was so far done that our loss did not exceed 300 muskets, about 5 tons of powder, some sulphur, 5 field pieces, four pounders

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and some inferior articles of no great account. The letters and records of the Executive were the greater part lost. They retired hastily to their shipping after 23 hours possession of the place. The interruption which they have given to raising men and providing subsistence is likely to be very injurious. We are endeavoring to get over this difficulty also as well as we can. Should any movements take place interesting to your State I shall communicate them to your Excellency as soon as known to me, the communication will be circuitous. Perhaps should they take post at Portsmouth, you might think it expedient to establish a line of expresses to the neighborhood of that place.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS NELSON.

IN COUNCIL, January 20th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—I will send to Mr. Brown the Commissary the paragraph from your letter relative to provisions with orders to him to take measures for relief. At the same time I wish the principal expenditures could be in Indian meal that the flour might be kept as much as possible for the summer's use. Major Hollier has no authority to make exchange prisoners with the enemy. The enclosed Proclamation will show you the principles on which we approved to wit that a citizen shall be considered as a soldier if he were taken in arms, embodied as a soldier, and acting under the com-

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mand of his officer. You will perceive that the circumstances are necessary to distinguish from a citizen engaged in his domestic or other occupations. Any equal exchange made on these principles and approved by yourself shall be considered as valid.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS NELSON.

RICHMOND, January 25th, 1781.

SIR,—I gave orders to Mr. Brown to send you a sufficiency of flour to fill up any intervals which might happen between your supplies of Indian meal. We think the stands of arms you have directed to be purchased at Baltimore are a great bargain if they be really good and will certainly find means of paying for them. The corn at Cumberland was Continental property having been delivered to Colonel Finnie long ago. On the present invasion we had that with other public stores moved up to New Castle as a place of greater safety. The other stores, indeed, we meant to withdraw to other places: but not the corn. However, I learn that our Quartermaster has in distress for that article been obliged to send for some of it for his horses here, and we have lately ordered a considerable number of public horses too poor for service to be carried and fattened there; by which means we shall save so much of it to the Continent. We have determined to convene the Assembly on the first

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day of March. The printer will enable us to send out the laws which require immediate execution this week. I make no doubt but by that time you will have received either from their counties or from Baron Steuben so many of the militia meant to be retained as will enable you to discharge the others. Indeed, the Baron Steuben means to reduce the number originally intended to 2700 infantry which will enable him to send back those of a greater number of counties. With respect to the paroled men my sentiments are these. Had I unwarily entered into an engagement of which the laws of my country would not permit me to fulfill I should certainly deliver myself to the enemy to cancel that engagement and free my personal honor from imputation. Nevertheless if any of them choose to remain and to perform freely all legal duties, I do not know that Government is bound to send these people in to the enemy. It is very different from the case of a military officer breaking his parole, who ought ever to be sent in. We deny the propriety of their taking paroles from unarmed farmers. But as in any event the only justifiable punishment of a breach of parole is confinement, so should the enemy hang a single man for this cause, we will instantly retaliate by hanging their prisoners in equal number. This may be declared to the paroled men who you say are ready to take arms. Mr. Granville Smith received yesterday a warrant for £20,000 for the contingent expenses of your camp,

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to be called out only on your order. As the money press is not yet at work it will be some days before he will get it.

P. S. Mr. Brown just informs of your application for spirits. There is not a hogshead belonging to the State, but very great quantities in the hands of the Continental Commissaries. I have special returns of upwards of twenty thousand gallons delivered them by the Commissioners of the Provision Law and no doubt great quantities of which there is no return. As on actual invasions all reasonable expenses are Continental you are undoubtedly authorized to call on their Commissaries or should you have a doubt Baron Steuben will clear it up. A Mr. Lyon one of those Commissaries at York can certainly supply you. I would observe to you that Baron Steuben informed me in conversation that spirit would be allowed as a part of the daily ration but only on particular occasions.

TO THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.

RICHMOND, January 26th, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,—I shall now beg leave to answer your letter of the 1st instant which enclosed a Paper from Baron de Arendt. Mr. William Lee was some

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time ago invested with a special agency from this State; having received, however, no instructions from him o[illegible] his having engaged any other person to transact any part of it, we are uninformed as to his stipulations with the Baron de Arendt. If he has left the particular one for twenty-five louis unfilled, we think ourselves bound to discharge, which we will do in such sum of paper money as may purchase that quantity of hard money in Philadelphia, for there being no hard money here there is no fixed exchange. If you will therefore settle the sum with him, we will make the remittance either in money or by answering a bill, or otherwise as shall be most practicable. After a variety of trials to effect the clothing of our troops and procuring of military stores, and failing in them all, a particular institution has been adopted here for those purposes. Into this channel all our means must be turned to enable it to be effectual. Our situation is too well known to suppose we have anything to spare. It is therefore not in our power to enter into the commerce with Prussia proposed by the Baron de Arendt, however desirous we are of opening a communication with that respectable State and willing under every other circumstance to effect it by great sacrifices were sacrifices necessary. Should the subjects of Prussia choose to adventure on private trade with our citizens, every facility and encouragement in our power will be certainly afforded. As the Speaker sets out within three or four days for Philadelphia,

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and can so much more fully explain to you by words the steps taken for support of our opposition to the common enemy, I shall decline answering that paragraph of your letter and beg leave to refer you to him.

TO BENJAMIN HARRISON.[1]

RICHMOND, January 29th, 1781.

SIR,—Several matters of public importance resting on the hands of the Executive to be transacted to the northward we beg leave to avail ourselves of your journey thither to get them settled being satisfied they may be much better done on your verbal representations than by anything that may go in writing from us. The trade has been carried on to a very small extent between this State and the Bermuda Islands. This was begun under a resolution of Congress permitting the exportation of a certain quantity of corn from this State to Bermuda. We required the Bermudians to come for it and to bring a bushel of salt in exchange for every two of corn. Our distress for salt increasing we continued the license and in the last summer gave three bushels of corn for one of salt. Some tobacco also was allowed in exchange but few vessels (I think

[1] Benjamin Harrison was about to journey to Congress, at Philadelphia, as a special commissioner for the State of Virginia.

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not more than half a dozen) have come on that business. Whether the number may increase or not I cannot say, but I think the trade necessary and could wish its continuance without umbrage to Congress or the French Minister. A trade with vessels reporting themselves as from neutral ports but in truth as we believe from Ireland has also been winked at. This is more exceptional on the part of the States and their allies and less advantageous to us. We have, indeed, received occasional supplies of clothing from them, but we might have bought on nearly as good terms in America, and thereby avoided risking the mischiefs which may attend the permission of Irish importations. Should our Commercial Agent be successful in his endeavors to supply our future public wants, this powerful reason for tolerating the trade will be removed. There will then remain no other inducement to it, but as it will increase the quantity of goods imported into the State, but whether the advantage be great or small we will willingly place this commerce on whatever footing shall be thought requisite for the good of the States and their allies.

The removal of the Convention troops was determined on by the Executive on the invasion of this State which took place in the last fall and was effected as to the British division about 800 in number. The Germans 1400 in number being thought less dangerous were permitted to remain till accommodations could be provided for them in

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Maryland. Congress having afterwards directed that they should not be removed and our Assembly that they should, the Executive are placed in a very disagreeable situation, we can order them to the banks of the Potomac, but our authority will not land them on the opposite shore. Besides prohibiting the removal of those remaining here they have required us to furnish half the provisions for those gone to Maryland. I beg leave to refer you to my letters to the Board of War and to Governor Lee on this subject, a copy of which is furnished you from whence you will see the grounds on which I have remonstrated against this latter requisition and on which I should have remonstrated against the former also but that I wish to avail myself of your more forcible representation in person.

A Mr. Patoun of Baltimore sent us some cartridge boxes; they were brought in a vessel of Mr. Braxton's to Annapolis, where the vessel being sold they were left and I have heard of nothing of them since. I must beg the favor of you to get them brought on if possible. Any supply of the same article as also of cartridge paper and flints which the Board of War can send on are essentially wanting.

Peret and Company of France sent us a quantity of stores in a vessel called Le Comité. She was taken on her passage, retaken and carried into Rhode Island, where on condemnation the one half of our part of

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her cargo has been decreed to us. I take the liberty of putting into your hands the papers on this subject. Our delegates have been endeavoring to have them brought on hitherto without effect. The salt, indeed, had better be sold there but the arms, clothing and other articles are so much wanting that we should be so much obliged to you to adopt an effectual mode of having them brought hither by hiring a trusty agent to go and bring them in wagons attending them himself, or in any other way you find most practicable and expedient. Congress being considerably indebted to us in the article of powder, I lately wrote to desire from five to ten tons to be sent to this place; it is essentially necessary that we send four tons more to Fort Pitt and that it be there by the 1st day of March. The statement with which you are furnished by our advances of powder to the Continent will inform you how far we have a right to make this call. I must trouble you to procure from them at Baltimore, if possible, and, if not, then at Philadelphia the four tons before mentioned and to send them under a trusty person in wagons to Fort Pitt to be delivered to the order of Colonel Clarke or other person acting under them. The residue or as much of it as can be got should be brought here at Continental expense.

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TO THOMAS SIM LEE, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND.

RICHMOND, Febry. 1st, 1781.

SIR,—I am much obliged by your Excellency's favor of January 5th. Joseph Shoemaker is a citizen of this State and has been an active mischievous traitor. The dangers of escape on the road from Baltimore to this place, and from this place, where since our removal from Williamsburg no public jail has been yet erected, are so great as to induce me to suggest to your Excellency the trial and punishment under your laws, should he have committed any depredation within your State which they would punish capitally; and in this case I will on intimation from your Excellency furnish you with proofs of his citizenship authenticated in any way in which your laws shall require. Should he not be amenable to justice under your laws, or should he be acquitted on trial, I will on information thereof take immediate measures for having him received, and brought hither.

I have been honored with a letter from the Honorable Mr. Jenifer, President of your Senate, and Mr. Bruff, Speaker of the House of Delegates, proposing that we should invite our allies, the French, to take a post within our State convenient for the defence of Chesapeake Bay, and desiring a communication on the subject with your Excellency. The difficulties on this head will certainly not arise with us. Should our allies not have a certainty of

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obtaining and keeping a superiority of naval power in the American seas, they will probably think any post on the navigable waters of the Chesapeake liable to loss. As a discussion of this matter with the French Minister required full information to him of the various posts and grounds which they might think fitted for defence as well as for overlooking the Bay, by their conveniency to aid from the country and many other circumstances which might draw the correspondence, if on paper, to a great length, I have thought it best to desire the Honorable Mr. Harrison, Speaker of our House of Delegates, who set out for Philadelphia two days ago, to speak with the French Minister on the subject and to give him every information which may be necessary to determine his opinion.

I had during the last summer taken the liberty of soliciting from him some naval force to be stationed on our bay, and received hopes that it might be done, just when the enemy who are now within this State came into the bay. I am afraid the proof they have exhibited of the practicability of making inroads into our country when conducted with rapidity and aided by wind and waters, will rather discourage our allies from hazarding much in any situation which may be pointed out.

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TO BENJAMIN HARRISON.

RICHMOND, Febry. 7th, 1781.

SIR,—The enclosed papers will sufficiently explain themselves to you. They were put into my hands by Colonel Mathews together with a requisition from Congress to furnish 14,492 hard dollars to pay the debts of our prisoners in New York. Were we permitted to send produce, we could do it for less than half of what the hard dollars will cost us, and I think such articles might be selected from the within, especially when that of coal is added (which Colonel Mathews assures me will be done) as would do neither good to the enemy nor injury to us. Coal sells in New York at six guineas the chaldron. Colonel Mathews assures me that the enemy has never experienced the least inconvenience from a want of provisions since he has been in captivity; that, indeed, before the arrival of the Cork fleet they began to be apprehensive, but he thinks they have now near a twelve months provision. Taking this into consideration with the great alleviation of the maintenance of our prisoners which it would bring to us, perhaps you could negotiate a permission to us to send some of these articles to New York and Charleston.

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TO COLONEL THEODORIC BLAND.

RICHMOND, Feby. 9th, 1781.

SIR,—I received yesterday your letter enclosing that of Colonel Dubuysson. It gives us great pain that we are not able to do what is desired by that gentleman. I shall not rest this merely on the determination of the Executive not to exchange Governor Hamilton at all while matters on our frontier are situated as at present, a determination founded as well on the possibility of real injury he would be enabled to do as on the apprehensions which the western country entertain of his eager enmity against us and influence with the savages. It is well known that the whole line of officers belonging to Virginia and North Carolina were taken some months before the captivity of Colonel Dubuysson, and stand previously entitled to exchange on the just principle of regular rotation. Exchanges out of turn have already given great disgust, not only to those who have been passed by but to the officers in general who find themselves exposed to the danger of a like insult. I leave to yourself, Sir, to judge what would be the complaints were we to consent to the exchange in question, passing over a whole army whose officers stand first entitled; these complaints would be more distressing as they would be founded in justice, and would admit no possibility of answer. The same reasons are good against parole exchange of such

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extent as the one proposed. I hope, therefore, that Colonel Dubuysson will see this matter in its proper light and be satisfied that nothing but a sense of its being clearly against our duty prevents our concurrence in a measure leading so much to his relief and which is stated as eventually interesting to the family of Baron de Kalb, to whom gratitude would induce us to render every service reconcilable to that justice which is due to others.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

RICHMOND, Feby. 10th, 1781.

SIR,—I now do myself the pleasure of transmitting you information on the several heads of your requisitions. I am sorry that full compliance with them is impracticable. Every moment, however, brings us new proofs that we must be aided by your northern brethren. Perhaps they are aiding us and we may not be informed of it. I think near half the enemy's force are now in Virginia and the States south of that. Is half the burden of opposition to rest on Virginia and North Carolina? I trust you concur with us in crying aloud on this head.

I sincerely rejoice with you on General Morgan's late important success. Besides the real loss sustained by the enemy in the force they were moving against us, it will give us time to prepare for the residue. The prisoners taken on that occasion, I shall certainly take the liberty of handing on north-

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wardly through this State, for the reason for doing this I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed.

Dr. Brownson received £75,000, equal to £1000 specie; for the balance he must wait until the Assembly meets. I hope they will determine to make up their quota of men fully. I have the pleasure to inform you that we have reason to expect during the two ensuing months, very full supplies of all necessaries for our army from France, on a contract we had made the last spring. I hope, too, that their escort is such as not only to render their entrance secure but to promise something further.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

IN COUNCIL, Feby. 13th, 1781.

SIR,—Still having at heart the success of the expedition at the head of which you are placed, we have obtained leave from Baron Steuben for Colonel Joseph Gibson to attend you as next in command, and of course to succeed to your offices in event of your death or captivity which however disagreeable in contemplation, yet as being possible it is our duty to provide against. I have further added my most pressing request to Colonel Broadhead that he permit Colonel Gibson's regiment to be added to your force for the expedition, a request which I hope will be successful as coinciding with the spirit of General Washington's recommendations. Colonel Gibson is to go to Baltimore to see the powder con-

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veyed to Fort Pitt. The articles which were to be sent from this place to Frederick County were duly forwarded a few days after you left us. I wish you laurels and health, and am with respect, etc.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS NELSON.

RICHMOND, Feb. 16th, 1781.

SIR,—I am very anxious to prepare for co-operation with our allies and for providing for their support. For the former purpose measures are taking as agreed on this moment in a conference with Baron Steuben, for the latter we suppose Yorktown the most effectual to prepare as an asylum for their vessels. Colonel Senf comes down with instructions to point what may be done there in a short time. The Baron will send Colonel Harrison or some other artillery officer to superintend the execution of what he shall plan; and I must resort to your influence to take such measures as may call in a sufficient number of laborers with their tools to execute the work. Whatever you do for this purpose shall be approved by us. The county alone can probably furnish many hands. Those in the neck I trust will also be forwarded.

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TO MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

RICHMOND, Feby. 17th, 1781.

SIR,—In the moment of receiving your letter of the 10th I issued orders to the counties of Washington, Montgomery, Botetourt and Bedford for seven hundred and odd riflemen, and to those of Henry and Pittsylvania for four hundred and odd of their militia. Yet my trust is that neither these nor the adjacent counties have awaited orders, but they have turned out and will have joined you in greater numbers than we have directed. The reinforcement from Chesterfield Court House cannot march these ten days. I shall be glad if you will call on the neighboring County Lieutenants for any succors which you may want, and circumstances forbid to be delayed. A minute communication of events will be very necessary as we wish as far as we are able to increase the opposing force, if that already ordered shall be insufficient. This change of position has thrown us into great doubt where to collect our provisions.

Two days ago I received notice of the arrival of a 64 gun ship, and two frigates of 36 each, part of the French fleet at Rhode Island; having yet had no communication of the views of the commanding officer (Commodore Tilly) I cannot say to what measures this aid will lead. They are equal to the destruction of the British vessels, could they get at

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them, but these are drawn up into Elizabeth river into which the 64 cannot enter.

P. S. Since writing the above we are told Lord Cornwallis has advanced to the Roanoke. I am in consequence issuing orders to embody every man between this and that for whom a firelock can be procured and that they march to join you.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.[1]

RICHMOND, February 19th, 1781.

SIR,—The prisoners in Albemarle were ordered to be removed immediately, giving them time only to pack their baggage, that it might follow them in wagons. Those taken at the Cowpens which were at New London on the 14th inst. were likewise ordered northwardly by the way of Staunton keeping above the Blue Ridge, while the Conventioners pass below it. These orders were issued at the same time with those for embodying the militia and have been notified to Congress and General Washington.

By a letter from Count Rochambeau to General Washington, a copy of which is transmitted me, it appears that some French frigates were out a cruising from Newport.—that two 74s and a frigate were sent out by the British to take them, that a storm came on which drove one of the 74s ashore on Mon-

[1] Copied from a letter belonging to the Sparks Manuscripts of Harvard University.

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tuck Point, and obliged the other to put back into Gardners' Bay dismasted, and the frigate also to put back though without injury: and forced the French frigates back to port, which they reached in safety; that this accident had given the French fleet a superiority; whereon the Chevalier de Touche was determined to send a line of battleship, and two frigates to cruise off the Capes of Chesapeake and break off the communication between New York and Charlestown. This letter is dated Jan. 9th. We are, therefore, to suppose the French vessels now here to have come in consequence of the above and to hope they are in no danger.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

RICHMOND, Febry. 19th, 1781.

SIR,—I received your letter on the subject of the backwardness of the militia of Berkely and Frederic to proceed westwardly, and had before received representation from the counties. This circumstance was the more mortifying as we were informed from various quarters that should we persist in the order it would produce an open disobedience. Many circumstances concurred to render it prudent to avoid this. The presence of two armies of the enemy within the State induced us to wish to prevent everything like commotion or opposition to Government in every part of it. As, therefore, the representations were accompanied with hopes held out of raising a

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respectable number of volunteers, the Board thought it prudent to accept of that offer. These two counties were relied on for 56 men; on view of this disappointment we obtained an order from Baron Steuben for Colonel John Gibson with his regiment and Heth's company (about 200 regulars) to be added to your command: an addition of more worth of itself perhaps than the militia, more especially if any number of volunteers should go. I hope, too, you will receive greater numbers from Kentucky than we counted on, and aids from the French settlements: we are apt to hope what we much wish, and perhaps this is my case.

The enclosed papers give us real concern as they hold out reason to apprehend great abuses in the western quarter. I transmit them to you to have strict enquiry made (not by yourself for your time is otherwise better engaged) but by such persons of known integrity and character as you shall appoint. We do not know what to do with the bills of which Major Slaughter speaks, indeed I wish such an enquiry could take place, and that the persons you appoint would give their sanction to every bill.

The suggestions against the gentlemen who went to Kaskaskie under promise of availing you of its resources and strength, are of such a nature as to merit attention and delicate enquiry. I am sure you will keep your attention alive as to everything of this kind. and will use decision where decision is found necessary.

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TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, Febry. 20th, 1781.

SIR,—I enclose you a report from Mr. Ross of the clothing provided and his prospect of further provision. The procuring hats or leathern caps still appears desperate, so that unless some substitute can be thought of, I know not what will be done. There are no hats I am told among the clothing come from the north. I wrote you that after having called certain numbers from Washington, Montgomery, Botetourt, Henry and Pittsylvania, I had called out all the militia who could be armed of Cumberland, Powhatan, Chesterfield, Dinwiddie, Amelia, Lunenburg and Brunswick to oppose Lord Cornwallis. Prince Edward was not called on because we knew them to have actually marched. Mecklenburg, Charlotte and Halifax were so near the enemy that we knew they must be in the field before any orders could reach them. So far the draught had been no more disturbed than it had been before by Arnold's invasion except as to the five counties of Washington, etc., first named—it is not in our power to anticipate the time of draughting in the other counties as you propose. The law gives certain times for raising men voluntarily till the expiration of which no draught can take place; for this reason we have wished to avoid as much as possible calling on the counties north of James River, where the draught is as yet undisturbed, until we shall hear

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that Lord Cornwallis has actually crossed the Dan; because that act will decide that he means to penetrate this country: nevertheless if you think it advisable we will order militia to a certain extent to be embodied on the north side of James River; and I shall be obliged to you for your opinion on this head.

I find by the enclosed papers which have passed between a Lieutenant Hare calling himself a flag and Captain Turberville that a vessel of the enemy has come under very suspicious circumstances to Sandy Point. What was her errand, to whom addressed, or whether she had passports from any of the commanding officers at the posts in the neighborhood of the enemy, are circumstances on which these papers can give me no information; yet they appear material in fixing the character of the vessel. It seems improper that under the pretence of being flags their vessels should be allowed to penetrate our rivers to their sources. This matter being within your line, and depending on usages with which you are better acquainted than we are, I wish to remit it altogether to yourself to have done what is right. A communication of what you determine will oblige me, as I am to write to General Nelson on the subject. I also transmit you an extract of the General's on the subject of the French ships here. I should think with him their cruising off the capes attended with safety to them, and great service to the American cause by intercepting the communication be-

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tween New York and Charlestown. But whether at this crisis till Lord Cornwallis's movements are decided the one way or the other, it be not of very great moment to retain Arnold in his present quarters by the presence of a force sufficient to destroy his navy if he withdraws from it, I would submit to your better judgment.—On this, too, I will ask your opinion as General Nelson expects my answer.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS NELSON.

RICHMOND, Febry. 21st, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—I received your letter of the 18th the night before last, and deferred answering it until I could confer with Baron Steuben, which I had the opportunity of doing yesterday evening. He showed me a letter from Monsieur Tilly from which, and the information of his aid who went down, we suppose the French squadron sailed on a cruise yesterday morning. They will, however, be within our call, and, therefore, we think it proper to go on with the preparations for enabling us to make an attempt on the enemy, and for affording an asylum to any of the ships of our ally which may at any time come to us. I put into his hands the papers relative to Mr. Hare and he will give orders on the subject; he seems to consider him as no flag, but a prisoner. As to Mr. Hare's calumnies on individuals of this State among whom I am one; I consider them as honorable testimonials; it is their known practice to bribe whom

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they can, and whom they cannot to calumniate. They have found scoundrels in America, and either judging from that or their own principles they would pretend to believe all are so. If pride of character be of worth at any time, it is when it disarms the efforts of malice. What a miserable refuge is individual slander to so glorious a nation as Great Britain has been.

I spoke to Baron Steuben some time ago for a return of the numbers of militia from each county which have been on duty and how long. As militia duty becomes heavy, it becomes also our duty to divide it equally. I have waited for this to order out relief, which cannot be done on sure grounds without it. You will oblige me by having such a return made from your quarter as soon as possible. I am sincerely sorry to hear of your indisposition. Wishing it speedily removed, I am.

TO COLONEL JAMES INNES.

IN COUNCIL, Febry. 22, 1781.

SIR,—I had written the enclosed before Captain Richeson arrived. I transmit it open through you for your perusal. I am very sorry that the men first called into the field have not been relieved: but has proceeded from the want of such a return as is mentioned in my letter, and for which I applied some time ago to Baron Steuben, who has had hopes of furnishing it. You will readily be sensible that

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where any county shall have sent but half the quota called for, they have performed but half their tour, and ought to be called on again: Where any county has furnished their full complement, they have performed their full tour, and it would be unjust to call on them again till we shall have gone through the counties. Militia becoming burdensome it is our duty to divide it as equally as we can. Upon the receipt of such a return a relief shall be ordered: and in the mean time the arrival of the militia mentioned in the enclosed may enable you to permit those who have been longer on duty to return home.

On the present invasion the favor was asked of Baron Steuben to arrange the commands on principles laid down by the Executive, being the same determined on Leslie's invasion. We have awaited the receipt of his arrangement to issue commissions; this alone is the reason why not a single commission has issued during the invasion. I will take care to remind the Baron of the want of his report and in the meantime should any gentleman have the misfortune to be captured not a moment shall be lost in sending him a commission. The affair of Westover has been communicated to me so imperfectly that I am still ignorant of it. I know that a flag is detained at Sandy Point, and have heard of letters between the conductor and a person in his connection up the river: But their import I have never heard. I understand that I am particularly indebted to Mr. Hare for his eulogiums. Indeed, I think them the best

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certificate of my whigism did my country want such certificate at this day.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

IN COUNCIL, Febry. 24th, 1781.

SIR,—I have received repeated information that the nakedness of the militia on service near Williamsburg and want of shoes is such as to have produced murmurings almost amounting to mutinies and that there is no hope of being able longer to keep them in service. The precedent of an actual mutiny would be so mischievous as to induce us to believe an accommodation to their present temper most prudent and, therefore, send to Colonel Innes a letter of which the enclosed is a copy, in the meantime it is out of my power to order reliefs on any fixed rule without such return as mentioned in the letter. As soon as I shall receive such a return new calls shall be made to replace the numbers you wished to have on the north side of James River independently of those from the northern counties who were meant to be free for other service. I must, therefore, trouble you to exercise your authority in such manner as to produce me returns of the desired kind. This is the more necessary to be done speedily lest the same should begin to show itself in General Muhlenberg's camp. You will judge from the temper of these militia how little prospect there is of your availing yourself of their aid on the south side of the river

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should you require it. I enclose you a copy of a letter from Colonel Bannister, County Lieutenant of Dinwiddie. I have taken the liberty of referring him to you as to the arms, and the bearer who carries my letter, will also carry any orders you please to give as to them. The size of his detachment it seems will depend on the arms he can procure.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL ROBERT LAWSON.

RICHMOND, Febry. 25, 1781.

SIR,—I yesterday received word from Colonel Bannister that there were 400 stand of good Continental arms at Petersburg of which he desired 150. I wrote to Baron Steuben on that, and shall immediately write to him again to let him know your want, and I have no doubt but he will order on the balance for your militia: besides these, 600 stand passed by this place three days ago for General Greene's camp. I never heard a tittle of the movements of either army in the south since a letter from General Greene of the 15th. Before that I on the information which your express brought me ordered out all the militia of Cumberland, Powhatan, Chesterfield, Dinwiddie, Amelia, Lunenburg and Mecklenburg who could be armed, and a fourth part of Washington, Montgomery, Botetourt, Henry and Pittsylvania. I sent no order to Prince Edward because I had your information that the business was already done: to Bedford we dispatched Colonel Lynch who happened to be

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here to carry all who could be armed. Halifax and Charlotte were known to be so immediately under the approach of the enemy as that they must be out under the general directions of the invasion law before orders could get to them. We determined not to embody on the north side of the James River till we should learn that Lord Cornwallis had crossed the Dan, because we still wished to interrupt as little as possible the execution of the law for raising regulars. That our intelligence might be perfect we got the favor of Major McGill to go to Greene's camp and apprise us of every interesting movement through the line of stationed expresses. He has been gone a week and we have not yet heard from him, which makes me apprehend some foul play on the road. I am the more led to this fear by a letter from General Greene to Baron Steuben having been opened in the same course of conveyance and the state of Greene's force withdrawn from it.

General Muhlenberg has drawn close down on the enemy's lines at Portsmouth—the French 64 gun ship lies in Lynhaven bay and the two frigates are on the cruise. We are strengthening in that quarter.

TO MRS. WILLIAM BYRD.[1]

IN COUNCIL, March 1st, 1781.

MADAM,—I am sorry it is not in my power to send you the law you desire, having only one copy of it

[1] Mrs. Byrd's maiden name was Mary Willing.

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myself and that bound up in the laws of the Session of October 1776, at which it was passed. The description of the offence which is the subject of the Act, is in these words—'if a man do levy war against 'the Commonwealth within the same, or to be adher- 'ent to the enemies of the Commonwealth within the 'same giving to them aid or comfort in the Common- 'wealth or elsewhere, etc., etc., thereof be legally 'convicted, etc., etc.' The situation in which you were placed by the landing of the enemy at Westover was undoubtedly difficult. Whether you may have been able to steer with precision between the will of those in whose power you were and the laws of your country is a question on which the laws have not made me the judge. The letter which you mention to have written while the enemy's fleet lay at Westover, being thought to contain the acknowledgment of an offence against the Commonwealth was put into the hands of the Executive officially and by them remitted to the Attorney General with instructions to proceed as the laws require. I believe it is his idea that these proceedings must be as for a misdemeanor. They will probably take place immediately under the directions of a late act which ordains pleadings in certain cases from day to day till final decision and I hope will furnish you with ample occasion of justification. The flag having come under a permission of Baron Steuben given before the determination to discontinue that kind of intercourse we referred the whole of that matter to

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him, save only that his promise having been to admit an identical restitution of slaves and the flag instead of that bringing a compensation in merchandize were of opinion and determined that this could not be admitted to be received, as, allowing the same indulgence equally to all, it would immediately become regular commerce. This was the only order or resolution formed by the Executive on any thing relative to this flag or to yourself so far as connected with her. Mr. Hare was thought to have conducted himself with great impropriety, yet a desire to afford no color of precedent for violating the sacred rights of a flag has I believe induced Baron Steuben to remit Mr. Hare and his vessel again to his commander.

Though my office requires that I should be divested of private estimations, yet I must be permitted to assure you that it will give me very real pleasure to know that the issue from this troublesome business is perfectly to your satisfaction.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

RICHMOND, March 2d, 1781.

SIR,—I was two days ago honored with your letter and that of General Washington on the same subject; I immediately transmitted by express the one accompanying it to the commanding officer of the naval force of his Christian Majesty in our bay and took measures for providing pilots. Baron

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Steuben will communicate to you the arrangements he proposes, which I shall have the pleasure of forwarding with every aid in my power. I hope that when you shall arrive at the point of action every thing will be found in readiness. I think the prospect flattering of lopping off this branch of the British force and of relieving the southern operations by pointing all their efforts to one object only. The relief of this State being the most immediate effect of the enterprize it gives me great pleasure that we shall be so far indebted for it to a nobleman who has already so much endeared himself to the citizens of these States by his past exertions and the very effectual aids he has been the means of procuring them. I have the honor to be with sentiments of the most perfect gratitude and respect, Sir, Your etc.

TO COLONEL EDWARD CARRINGTON.

IN COUNCIL, March 3d, 1781.

SIR,—I have received your letter wherein is this paragraph "the sum indeed mentioned in your Excellency's letter is excessive and I am not surprised it should be so, when I find by a state of your affairs sent to General Greene you have magnified the estimate in one article tenfold and perhaps the same circumstance attends the estimation on some of the other articles. I estimated for fifty thousand bushels of grain; in your Excellency's state to General Greene it is called five hundred thousand. I would

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be glad the Executive would revise their estimation and perhaps after correcting those errors, etc., etc."

I trust you would have been more choice in your terms had you revised the estimate yourself as recommended to us. I send you a copy of it wherein you will find the quantity of corn or oats expressed in these figures and letters '500,000 bushels' in a former estimate given in some days or perhaps weeks before this. The quantity required was 'for 2326 draft horses and 779 saddle horses till the 1st of August was 282,490 bushels.' I did not, therefore, magnify the article to General Greene and your now speaking of 50,000 bushels as the quantity required shows that I had reason to estimate to the General the necessity of a new calculation on the true number of horses connected with the southern army and the proportion of this, which on view of actual circumstances we ought to furnish. I believe the estimate of 50,000 bushels to be as far wrong as that of 500,000. We shall be governed by neither but will furnish as much as we shall be able. It will probably be short of the middle quantity. Should you have represented this article to General Greene to have been magnified by us, I shall expect from your justice that you will be equally ready to correct as to commit an error and that you will take the trouble to inform him that I had not been so deficient in respect either to him or myself as to magnify things of which I undertook to give him representation. Major Claiborne had the half million of pounds

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which we promised of the late emission. When the Treasury is replenished he shall again have due proportion to enable him to procure such part of the estimate as he thinks proper.

TO THOMAS SIM LEE, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND.

RICHMOND, March 6th, 1781.

SIR,—I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's favor of February 27th and had just before received the resolutions of Congress of February 20th which were the subject of the letter.

I think that we ought not to expect any co-operation in this business from North Carolina and that we should be disappointed were we to expect it. A State in which are several different armies of foes and of friends as destructive from necessity as foes, which has been consumed by their ravages near a twelvemonth is not in a condition to give but to expect assistance. It must be evident that from the presence of our armies in that State she must furnish more than her quota for supplies, because she makes up the failures of all other States; for on the failures of supply the army will not go to take from the State failing, but takes its necessary subsistence from that in which you are. I think then that of the States named in the resolution of Congress the object of the resolution rest truly on Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia and I shall be very happy to concur with them in such equal measures as will effect the inten-

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tions of Congress. I do not apprehend it was intended by your Excellency when you proposed to deposit your quota of specifics at Alexandria that the burden of transporting it thence to North Carolina should be left on us solely, because as on the same plan we should be entitled to deliver our quota on our southern boundary which would bring up our share of burden to an equality of yours: were we moreover to transport your quota and that of Delaware across our country it would be so much more than equality. I take the liberty of mentioning this because your Excellency's proposition has been I think misunderstood in this particular. The desire of Congress that we should settle an arrangement for procuring supplies for the southern army in the States most convenient for replacing those supplies from other States and for transporting the whole. All this supposes a joint concern; I should think, therefore, it ought to be executed jointly, or if divided that the division of the whole, that is of the procuring supplies in one place replacing them by others and transporting both should be equal, by which I mean proportioned to our abilities as rated in the Continental scale. This may be done in several different ways: 1st, by dividing among us the line of transportation into such parts as when combined with the quantity to be transported along each part will produce a total duly proportioned between us; 2d, by putting into the hands of a Quartermaster due proportions of money or means of transportation

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to be by him employed in carrying on our specifics from their respective States; 3d, for each State to appoint its own agent and to procure the quota of specifics as near as they can to the army replacing their money by sale of such specifics as might be raised within the State by taxation. The first and second modes are liable to this objection that the transportation will cost very considerably more than would purchase the articles in the vicinities of the army. Should these nevertheless or any other mode which can be thought to be more agreeable to your Excellency and the President of Delaware we shall be ready at any time to proceed to settle the arrangement, or as the settlement of it by way of letter might draw it to a great length, I would propose to refer it to be done by the Delegates from the respective States in Congress. Should the third mode suggested above be preferred as it would be carried into separate execution no reference would be requisite.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.[1]

RICHMOND, March 7th, 1781.

SIR,—The enclosed came to hand this moment; as I make no doubt it communicates what was mentioned in a letter from the Marquis to me received at the same time, I shall not trouble you with it. Scows which the Marquis desires for the transportation of

[1] Copied from a letter belonging to the Sparks Manuscripts of Harvard University.

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cannon, cannot venture into the wide waters over which they will have to be transported, as I apprehend. Flats (which abound in York River) are the best vessels for this purpose as I am informed. You may have the best information on this head at York, and I must trouble you to order flats, or, whatever other vessels will best answer to be procured. The Marquis is very anxious to have the works at York put into proper order. I hope General Nelson's influence may have enabled him to procure hands for this business. The four battery pieces with their carriages, and one mortar with its bed, are got on board to-day. The other mortar, without a bed, will be on board this evening, with 6000 pounds of powder, and they will fall down to Hood's, where the armed vessels were directed to, there to await your orders. We found that there were iron beds at Cumberland for the mortars; these I ordered down with the shells which were to go thence.—1000 pounds of powder set out for York this morning: by a letter from General Weedon. I find the numbers he will actually bring will be but about 700. Captain Smith gave me hopes that he could raise 30 horsemen, but did not seem positive; I have not heard from him lately.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

RICHMOND, March 8th, 1781.

SIR,—I had the pleasure of receiving last night your letter of the 3d instant and of learning of your

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arrival at the Head of Elk three days sooner than General Washington had given us reason to expect. In the meantime I hope you will have received my answer to your first letter which I forwarded by express to the Head of Elk, and, which is of greater importance, a letter from Baron Steuben who commands in this State, explaining to you what he proposed.

The number of militia desired by the Baron will be provided, though not quite so early as had been proposed, so that your delays at the Head of Elk will not produce any inconvenience. Arnold's retreat is at this time cut off by land. Provisions and arms for the troops are in readiness and the Quartermasters are exerting themselves to get horses. Their exertions are slow and doubtful. Oxen I apprehend must be used in some measure for the artillery. We have no heavy field artillery mounted. Four battering cannon (French 18 pounders) with two 12 inch mortars fall down from this place this evening. Scows I am afraid cannot be used for the transportation of your cannon on the wide waters where your operations will be carried on. We shall endeavor to procure other vessels the best we can. The total destruction of our trade by the enemy has put it out of our power to make any great collection of boats. Some armed vessels of public and some of private property are held in readiness to coöperate, but as they are in James River they cannot venture down till the command of the water is taken from the enemy. Baron

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Steuben is provided with the most accurate drawings we have of the vicinities of Portsmouth: they are from actual survey of the land, and as to information of the navigation the most authentic will be obtained from the pilots in that neighborhood, ten of the best of which are provided. I shall continue to exert my best endeavors to have in readiness what yet remains to be done, and shall with great pleasure meet your desires on this important business, and see that they be complied with as far as our condition will render practicable. On this and every other occasion I will take the liberty of begging the freest communications with you.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

IN COUNCIL, March 10th, 1781.

SIR,—I received your favor of the 8th instant and am sorry to find that this distressing flag is not yet off our hands. I sincerely wish that the perplexities she has introduced, she may not be more effectually working for our enemies than if she had pursued their original purpose. This can only be avoided by candid explanation and dispassionate judgment. The line of conduct which the Executive meant to pursue as to this flag cannot be more pointedly declared than in the letter of the [1]— February which I had the honor of writing to you, a copy of which I take the liberty of enclosing. They considered her from

[1] Date missing.

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the beginning within the military line: they never proposed to make, or ever did make a single order on the subject or come to a resolution except that which is declared in my letter of February [1] — a copy of which is also enclosed, whereby they laid down a general rule that compensations for plunder shall not be received from the enemy.

In the conversation which I had with Captain Walker wherein he mentioned your sentiments and purposes as to the person of Mr. Hare and his vessel, I declared to him my sense of the extreme impropriety of Mr. Hare's conduct: that had I been the officer to whom he had come, I would have refused to do business with him and have sent him back, his purpose uneffected, but that I would not for such a cause have brought the sacred rights of the flag into question, and that I concurred with you in opinion that they should be dismissed.

The officers immediately connected with her did make some reports to the Executive, but they were in every instance and immediately transmitted and transferred to you for orders, one instance only excepted, which was the following. Some few days ago, I received a letter from Colonel Innes desiring my opinion as to what should be done with Mr. Hare and the vessel. This conveyed to me the first notice that your order had not been obeyed and that the vessel was drawn into a court of justice. I wrote in answer to Colonel Innes, as well as I can recollect for

[1] Date missing.

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I write this from memory, that whatever powers the Executive might have possessed over these subjects, they had delegated them to you, that I doubted whether the delegation had added anything to your powers as I conceived them before competent to the subject, that as to Mr. Hare particularly, whether considered as a conductor of a flag, a prisoner of war or a spy, he was subject to your order. That, indeed, as to the vessel, since she was drawn into the possession of a court, being much unacquainted with the subject I would take the Attorney General's opinion on it and transmit it to him. I did so. I did not send the papers to you because I knew or believed you to be on the road to Williamsburg, where I took for granted the whole matter would be laid before you.

As to Mr. Hare's person the Executive can with truth disclaim having ever given an order on that subject, and if you had supposed, as we are afraid from your letter you do, that any thing has been done in consequence of an order, advice or recommendation from us, we affirm that it was not: As little as the detention of the vessel proceeded from the Executive. She is, indeed, in the hands of the State, but it is of the Judiciary part of Government, which is as independent of them as is the Supreme Court of any other country.

We are sorry the officers who transacted business with Mr. Hare should have failed in obedience to your orders, and would do any thing in our power to support and manifest your authority were any

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thing wanting, but nothing can be added to the provision which the military institutions have made to enforce obedience, and it would be presumption in us to say what is that provision to you. These put into your own hands the satisfaction which you desire Government to procure you. Even your letter to Mr. Hare, which we must suppose Major Turberville to have so improperly retained, it is most in our power to require authoritatively: to such an order no obedience would be exacted by the laws, nevertheless he shall be written to on the subject as we cannot conceive but that, sensible of the impropriety of such a detention, he will not need compulsion to return it. I must again express my uneasiness at the unfortunate consequences which may flow from the conduct of the gentlemen who have managed this business; however zealous may have been their intention, I fear I foresee evils more lasting and weighty than the good which may result from them.

I trust I shall not fail of having your concurrence in endeavoring to avoid them as far as shall depend on us.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

IN COUNCIL, March 10th, 1781.

SIR,—Since writing my letter of this day's date, yours of yesterday has come to hand. The orders to the counties which were to reinforce General Muhlenberg, were that their detachments should be with

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him on the 5th or at furthest the 6th. On receipt of the letter of the 8th informing us of the almost total deficiency of New Kent, we ordered 164 men from Chesterfield and 187 from Dinwiddie to be immediately assembled and marched to General Muhlenberg's headquarters. We can only be answerable for the orders we give and not for the execution. If they are disobeyed from obstinacy of spirit or want of coercion in the laws it is not our fault; we have done what alone remained for us to do in such case, we have ordered other militia from other counties.

The Quartermaster applied to us on the subject of the horses required. He was furnished with impressing powers. He again applied for militia to aid him in the execution of the powers. We did not think proper to resign ourselves and our country implicitly to the demands of a Quartermaster, but thought we had some right of judgment left to us. We knew that an armed force to impress horses was as unnecessary as it was new. The fact has been that our citizens have been so far from requiring an armed force for this purpose that they have parted with their horses too easily, delivering them to every man who said he was riding on public business and assumed a right of impressing. When, therefore, the militia have on their hands a sufficiency of real calls to duty, we did not think it proper to harass them in cases where we had reason to suspect they were not wished by the Quartermaster as militia, but

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as servants. It was mentioned to the Quartermaster that in our opinion he could and should do but little in this neighborhood and that of Petersburg which had been drained by constant impresses: Nevertheless we furnished him with the blank powers to be exercised where he pleased. I have laid your letter before the Assembly according to your desire.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

RICHMOND, March 10th, 1781.

SIR,—Intending that this shall await your arrival in this State I with great joy welcome you on that event. I am induced to from the very great esteem your personal character and the hopes I entertain of your relieving us from our enemy within this State. Could any circumstances have rendered your presence more desirable or more necessary it is the unfortunate one which obliges me to enclose you the enclosed papers.

I trust that your future acquaintance with the Executive of the State will evince to you that among their faults is not to be counted a want of disposition to second the views of the Commander against our common enemy. We are too much interested in the present scene and have too much at stake to leave a doubt on that head. Mild laws, a people not used to prompt obedience, a want of provisions of war and means of procuring them render our orders often

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ineffectual, oblige us to temporise and when we cannot accomplish an object in one way to attempt it in another. Your knowledge of these circumstances with a temper to accommodate them ensure me your coöperation in the best way we can, when we shall be able to pursue the way we would wish.

I still hope you will find our preparations not far short of the information I took the liberty of giving you in my letter of the 8th instant. I shall be very happy to receive your first applications for whatever may be necessary for the public service and to convince you of our disposition to promote it as far as the abilities of the State and powers of the Executive will enable us.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

RICHMOND, March 12th, 1781.

SIR,—The enclosed is the copy of a letter which was intended to have awaited you in Virginia. But as there seems to be a probability that you will be detained at the Head of Elk longer than could have expected I have thought it best to send a copy there also.

An idea having unfortunately got abroad that the militia now called on are intended to storm the enemy's works at Portsmouth the numbers which actually march from the several counties are so far short of what we ordered as never happened before and as to have baffled our calculations on probable

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deficiencies. As these have become further known and expected we have ordered in additional numbers. From this cause I am informed the blockade of Arnold on the Norfolk side has not taken place as I had reason to believe when I wrote to you on another occasion.

By the last accounts I can get the enemy have three vessels of force in the Bay in addition to those Arnold had before. What few armed vessels we could get are in James River and cannot be got out nor, could we get them out, are they of force sufficient to venture up the Bay. Should a French naval force superior to that of the enemy arrive in the Bay, I make no doubt you will still think it necessary to be assured that there are not in the upper part of the Bay vessels of the enemy sufficient to do you injury. I fear the number of boats requisite for landing your men and cannon will be very defective. Baron Steuben thinks 20 necessary but there cannot be half that number procured. The boats built for use in the upper part of James River cannot navigate the lower parts nor can any be brought round from the other rivers, perhaps it will be in your power to bring a number of boats with you. We have every instrument in motion which can avail us on this most interesting occasion, but the want of means circumscribes our exertions. I think it proper, therefore, to reduce your expectations from what should be ready to what probably will be ready, and even calculating on probabilities I find it necessary to reduce my own

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expectations at times. I know that you will be satisfied to make the most of an unprepared people, who have the war now for the first time seriously fixed in their country and have, therefore, all those habits to acquire which their northern brethren had in the year 1776, and which they have purchased at so great an expense.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

March 12th, 1781.

SIR,—Since writing the preceding I have been honored with your letter of the 6th. The first notification of this enterprise came to me in the night of the last day of February. We were informed there were few or no armed vessels in the three northern rivers and supposed if there were any they could not be impressed manned and brought into place by the time at which it was then thought they would be wanting. We confined ourselves therefore to James River. It is certainly too late to attempt the other rivers. We had but one galley in order. She went down the river some time ago and having never been heard of since we fear some accident has happened to her. We had before sent down 6000 pounds of cannon powder and now order 4000 pounds more which goes very deep into our present stock. Ten pilots are provided. I will lodge some maps for you so as that they shall be delivered to you on your arrival. I now give orders for look-out boats to be ready in Rap-

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pahannock, Piankatank and York rivers. I cannot say what may be expected from them. The articles wanted in the Quartermaster's and Engineer's departments as stated in their invoice, will most of them be got, as the orders for them go out to-day, only they will, of course, be rather late. I send off to the neighborhood of the intended operations to procure the plank. I expect it will not be very easily or speedily provided. As to the artificers required I can give you but little hope. They are exceedingly scarce in this country. Endeavors shall not be wanting, but still they must not be counted on. Provisions will be in readiness. This is a summary of what is done, may be done, is doubtful or desperate on the several articles enumerated in your letter. I pray you to make no difficulties in communicating freely what may be wanted for the service, being desirous of contributing every thing which our State can do or produce for the successful prosecution of the enterprise and confiding that you will put the most candid constructions when we fail, as you will too soon find a full compliance beyond the reach of our abilities.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

IN COUNCIL, March 14th, 1781.

SIR,—We just received the pleasing information of your safe arrival at York yesterday. My letters of the 12th which were sent to the Head of Elk (duplicates of which accompany this) will inform you

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that we were endeavoring to accomplish your several requisitions. I now enclose you a list of articles actually procured which will go from this place this evening, most of them in wagons to General Muhlenberg's headquarters. Some heavy articles, particularly about 1500 gallons of rum, some flour and 20 seasoned oak planks, go in a vessel down the river. Four smiths go with the wagons. The articles not stated in the enclosed paper will I am in hopes be procured by an agent I have sent to the neighborhood of Suffolk who will engage what artificers can be found. I am informed that there will be ready at the public ship yard on Chickahominy on Friday next 4 boats well fitted for your purpose. Others are collecting in the rivers to rendezvous at Hood's. The galley I mentioned in my letter of the 12th is at the same ship yard and another is got ready. They are very light and want men as do two armed vessels belonging to the State at the same place. I have desired Captain Maxwell (at present I believe at York) who in consequence of former orders has I expect provided men to come to the ship yard and see these vessels put into motion. I have the pleasure to enclose you herewith a small map of the vicinities of Williamsburg, York, Hampton and Portsmouth done on a scale of 5 miles to the inch which may serve for pocket purposes and a larger one of the vicinities of Portsmouth on a scale of a mile to the inch which may be resorted to where greater accuracy is requisite. They are both from actual sur-

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veys and are the best in our power to provide for you. The larger one is a copy of original draughts, the smaller is very carefully reduced from them. Provisions cannot fail if the Commissaries look forward. I must beg the favor of you to give strict orders to the issuing Commissary to give me very timely notice when any thing like want shall be approaching, because time is requisite in this State to comply with any call. The State Purchasing Commissary was ordered by me besides the bread and animal food to lay in at General Muhlenberg's camp or at a proper place in its neighborhood a hundred thousand rations.

TO THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.

IN COUNCIL, March 15th, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,—A difference of opinion having taken place between the Executive of this State and Mr. Simon Nathan at the rate at which certain bills of exchange should be discharged in paper money we have agreed with him to refer it to such gentlemen of knowledge in the laws of established character and of any other State as yourselves shall mutually agree on with him. Their award shall be performed by the State, which means to stand in the place as well of the drawer as drawee. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Sergeant had been consulted by Mr. Nathan. I enclose to you Mr. Pendleton and Wythe's opinion. You will be pleased to observe that the state of the

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case requires from Mr. Nathan actual proof that he took up the bills at par. Mr. Nathan having agreed with us to all the facts as stated I am to suppose nothing contrary to them will be received; as his signature here was omitted perhaps it would be best for you to require it before submission. It is not our desire to pay off those bills according to the present depreciation, but according to their actual value in hard money at the time they were drawn, with interest. The State having received value, so far as it is just it should be substantially paid. All beyond this would be plunder made by some person or other. The Executive in the most candid manner departed from the advantage which their tender law gave them in the beginning. It seems very hard to make this means of obtaining an unjust gain from the State.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

RICHMOND, March 19th, 1781.

SIR,—Your letters of the 16th and 17th inst. came to hand at noon of this day. I beg leave to inform you that for the purpose of speedy communications between the Executive and the commanding officers expresses are established from this place through Williamsburg to Hampton every fifteen miles distance and that a Quartermaster is employed in establishing a similar line from hence to the army before Portsmouth, crossing James River at Hood's. These expresses are ordered to ride day and night. You

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will be pleased to set the line in motion whenever you think proper. Besides the exertions of the Continental Quartermaster to procure horses we instructed the State Quartermaster to send out agents on the same business in order to insure the number required by Colonel Pickering, which was 50 saddle horses and 150 draught horses. What his agents could procure we ordered to be at General Muhlenberg's headquarters by the 20th. I shall order him to continue his efforts in aid of the Continental Quartermaster ten days longer.—In a country whose means of payment are neither prompt nor of the most desirable kind, impressing property for the public use has been found indispensable. We have no fears of complaint under your exercise of those powers and have only to ask the favor of you to instruct those employed in impressing to furnish the party whose property is taken with a proper certificate of the article and value and that they make regular returns to Government of the certificates they have given stating in such return the date of the certificate, owner's name, article taken, and price. This has been required, of course, from all impressing officers as a check on counterfeited certificates.

The conduct of Captain Turberville has come to the knowledge of the Executive in detached parts only. His permitting Lieutenant Hare to pass his post to Westover was deemed by us improper. We understood also he did not obey a positive order from Major-General Baron Steuben for discharging

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Mr. Hare and the flag; and the Baron complains to us that an open letter of his to Mr. Hare was detained by Captain Turberville. We could do no less than observe to the Baron that the military institutions had put in his hands the powers of vindicating the military authority. An enquiry or trial before a military court is certainly proper: but Captain Turberville cannot and I dare say will not expect or desire it but when full evidence can be obtained. If it be necessary that it should await the papers which were transmitted me, they are now in the hands of the Attorney General to support a civil prosecution, and cannot probably be for many days withdrawn. Captain Turberville is an essential witness in the prosecution which is to be heard on the 23d inst. and will then have the means of knowing when the papers can be spared.

As a complete collection of our military and other laws is very difficult to be procured and would be troublesome for you to consult, I have ordered the militia laws to be copied together and will transmit them to you in a few days.

Captain Turberville's connection with Mr. Hare's flag gives me occasion to mention that matter to you. On my hearing (several days after it happened) that such an officer and vessel had come up James River, I took the liberty of mentioning it in a letter to Major-General Baron Steuben, of asking the favor of his attention to it, and informing that it was more immediately within the military line, was under

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rules and usages with which he was much better acquainted than we were, we wished to leave it to him altogether to have done whatever was right. It was his opinion and it was and is ours that notwithstanding the indecencies and irregularities of Mr. Hare's conduct he and his vessel should have been discharged. He accordingly ordered it, but his order was not obeyed as to Mr. Hare's person till so much time had elapsed as to render the discharge dangerous: it was, therefore, countermanded. As to the vessel, an idea arose I know not on what grounds that she was drawn into litigation before a court of justice. This I am now informed is not the case. As we have never meddled with her we wish not to do it, but to leave with yourself to discharge both officer and flag whenever you shall think it proper to do so. In the meantime I doubt not you will think proper attention should be paid to the safe custody of the vessel, the persons and property belonging to her, and that she be kept under the military power and clear of the civil.

I send you subjoined a state of the militia called to the south side of James River.[1] If I understood

[1] The following summary is attached:

Loudoun	436	Southampton ...	219	
Fauquier	269	Isle of Wight ...	150	
Prince William ..	185	Nansemond	161	2190 Originally called for
Fairfax	200	Chesterfield	164	
New Kent	104	Dinwiddie	187	
Charles City	71	Hanover	245	
Prince George ...	125	Caroline	260	

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Baron Steuben's plan he wished to have 800 Virginia militia to operate on the Norfolk side with the Carolinians and 2260 on the Portsmouth side to operate with the regulars, making in the whole 3060 militia. In our first call expecting deficiencies we much exceeded these numbers, taking into account the militia then in the field under General Muhlenberg, but finding these deficiencies greater than could have been expected we afterwards considerably augmented our calls. I also state the armed vessels now at Hood's under the direction of Captains Mitchell and Lewis, subject to your order. They are private property. Those of the public in Chickahominy want men, to supply which orders have been sent to Captain Maxwell.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE WEEDON.

RICHMOND, March 21st, 1781.

SIR,—As I am certainly informed by Commodore Barron that the fleet arrived is British, I become anxious lest the expected French fleet not knowing of

Surry 95	Spottsylvania... 120			
Sussex 175	King William ... 55	 1031		Supplementary
		3221		

Ship Renown .....16..4 & 6 lbs		Ship Tempest–16 Guns	Chickahominy
Brig Wilkes.....12..4....lbs		Brig Jefferson 14-4 lbs	
Brig Mars ..... 8..4....lbs	Hoods	Lewis, Small	
Brig Willing Lass .10..4....lbs		Safeguard, gallies	

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this incident may come into the Bay. Should the Marquis Fayette be returned to the north side of the river, I make no doubt that he will have taken what cautionary measures are in his power and necessary. Should he not be returned I must beg the favor of you immediately to send off a vessel from York to the eastern shore (which is supposed to be practicable) with the enclosed letter to Colonel Avery, the purport of which is to send out two good lookout boats from the sea side of that shore to apprize the French commander, should he be approaching, of the situation of things here. You will, of course, caution the master of the vessel to destroy the letters confided to him in case of inevitable capture.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

IN COUNCIL, March 24th, 1781.

SIR,—I am honored by your letter of the 20th inst. and am sorry that a want of ammunition should have abridged your intentions at Portsmouth. I have made enquiry what have been the issues of ammunition from the State stores and am informed by returns that there has issued (naming principal articles only)

To Thomas Smith acting for Major Pryor 1000 pounds cannon powder for York.

To Captain Bohannon 6000 pounds cannon powder.

To Major Pryor for General Muhlenberg's camp 400 pounds musket powder 2100 pounds lead.

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To Captain Irish for the Continental Laboratory 3500 pounds musket powder and 3900 pounds lead.—
Amounting to 10,900 pounds powder and 6000 pounds lead.

These things being put into the hands of Continental officers, whether made up, forwarded, or not are circumstances not afterwards coming to my knowledge. I asked the favor of Captain Irish to inform me of his issues from the Continental Laboratory to which we sent 19 hands to aid him in preparing the ammunition. He made the enclosed return. I apprehend a considerable part of what he has issued is still on the road. He has 18,000 cartridges on hand and makes 3000 a day. I am very sorry to inform you our stock of lead will not employ him much longer even at this slow rate.

The vein of the mine on which we have hitherto depended failed some weeks ago; of this I immediately apprized Congress. Unless some speedy supplies are sent on, the southern army as well as ours will immediately fail. I have lately again written to Congress on this subject and by Captain Rutlege ventured to send a particular state of the southern army in this point as reported to me by Captain Singleton; the addition of your application would doubtless have great weight. It has not been generally expected that individual States should provide more ammunition on their own accounts than to repel occasional attacks or to oppose a permanent

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enemy until supplies and support could be forwarded from the Continental stock. Our State stores, however, have been constantly applying to the use of the southern army from the taking of Charleston to this time and our own army from the first of October last. I mention these things not with an idea of withholding as long as we have a grain, but to enable to show that aids of military stores from the Continental stock are as reasonable as they are necessary. As to provisions I have been incessant with the Commissary to see that the quantity before ordered be in readiness. He has constantly assured me that he has much more than has been required. Were the articles such as are lodged in store-houses I would send an officer to examine his stores actually, but they consist mostly of stalled beeves divided among the counties which it would be improper to bring together till wanted. He has a vessel under the care of the armed vessels in this river loaded with flour, which he says contains half the quantity required and the whole may be water borne the moment it is wanted. He has no hard bread, but he is instructed to provide it. I shall not cease to recall his attention to it.

I am anxious to hear from you since the appearance of this British fleet. It is said by a Captain Reeves who came out of Portsmouth since their arrival that there was a partial engagement between that and the French fleet off our Capes in which neither party sustained the loss of any vessel or other

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considerable damage. Immediately on learning their arrival I communicated by the stationed expresses to Governor Lee, the President of Congress and General Washington. I suppose this will put an end to the design of Portsmouth, or place it at a distance; in either case the militia who have had a tour of duty so unusually long are entitled to be discharged by a special promise so soon as those newly called on shall rendezvous in sufficient numbers to replace them. Great cautions are requisite on the discharge of militia to prevent their carrying away their arms and ammunition. Another reason induces me to wish an information of your present views, which is that if there be a probability that the private armed vessels we have impressed may not be wanting, I should be glad to discharge them as they are heavy daily expense and risk.

I do myself the pleasure of transmitting to you the militia laws according to your desire.

I will beg the favor to send the enclosed letter to the British commanding officer at Portsmouth by flag whenever you shall think proper. Indeed, I wish it might suffice to deliver it to the naval commander as nothing can be so disagreeable to me as to be compelled to a correspondence with the other.[1]

On the resignation of Colonel Muter as Commissioner of the War Office we have appointed Colonel Davies to succeed him. The due execution of the duties of this office are of extreme importance to the

[1] Benedict Arnold.

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State and, indeed, to the Continent, while an army continues either here or in the south. Some difficulties on the subject of rank and other emoluments prevent his absolute acceptance. He has, however, accepted conditionally and we are applying to Congress to settle the points on which he hesitates. In the meantime as the duties of the office do not admit a day's intermission in the present situation of things, give me leave to solicit his excuse for quitting the charge at Chesterfield Courthouse without awaiting a regular license and your permission to him to continue here till we receive the determination of Congress.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD, THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF THE BRITISH FORCE AT PORTSMOUTH.

IN COUNCIL, March 24th, 1781.

SIR,—Some of the citizens of this State taken prisoners when not in arms and enlarged on parole have reported the commanding officer as affirming to them that they should be punished with death if found in arms. This has given occasion to the enclosed resolution of the General Assembly of this State. It suffices to observe at present that by the law of nations, a breach of parole (even where the validity of parole is not questioned) can only be punished by strict confinement.

No usage has permitted the putting to death a

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prisoner for this cause. I would willingly suppose that no British officer had ever expressed a contrary purpose. It has, however, become my duty to declare that should such a threat be carried into execution, it will be deemed as putting prisoners to death in cold blood, and shall be followed by the execution of so many British prisoners in our possession. I trust, however, that this horrid necessity will not be introduced by you and that you will on the contrary concur with us in endeavoring as far as possible to alleviate the inevitable miseries of war by treating captives as humanity and natural honor requires. The event of this contest will hardly be affected by the fate of a few miserable captives in war.

TO THE REV. JAMES MADISON AND ROBERT ANDREWS.

RICHMOND, March 31st, 1781.

SIRS,—The principle on which the boundary between Pennsylvania and this State is to be run having been fixed it is now proposed by President Reid that Commissioners proceed to execute the work from the termination of Mason and Dixon's line to the completion of five degrees of longitude and thence on a meridian to the Ohio. We propose that the extent of the five degrees of longitude shall be determined by celestial observation. Of course it will require one set of astronomers to be at Philadelphia and another at Fort Pitt. We ask the favor of yourselves to undertake this business, the one to go

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to the one place, the other to the other, meaning to add a coadjutor to each of you. Good instruments can be furnished no doubt at Philadelphia; but for the Pittsburg observations we must solicit the proper instruments from your corporations which we will undertake to return in good order, or if injured to replace them. I, therefore, beg the favor of you to solicit the loan of those instruments. With respect to yourselves we shall furnish money for your necessary and comfortable expenses; the covered wagon which conveys the instruments will take any luggage necessary for your accommodation. And we will give you moreover 150 pounds of tobacco a day each dischargeable in current money at the rate affixed by the Grand Jury at the General Court next preceding payment. It will be necessary to proceed in this business as soon as the general mode shall have been agreed between the two States. Perhaps a meeting of the Commissioners at Baltimore will be previously requisite to settle particulars. I am to request an immediate answer to this as I delay proposing to President Reid this mode of locating the boundary until I know whether we can get the execution of it undertaken by gentlemen who will do us credit and justice.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

RICHMOND, April 1st, 1781.

SIR,—I am honored with your favor of the 27th by Mr. Daniel. I informed you by Colonel Morris

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of the reinforcement of militia ordered to you; but they will not be in time to supply the place of those now with you if they leave you so early. Certainly the knowledge that a relief is coming in will induce them not to leave you in a state which may soon give us all to do over again. A part of these militia went under the regular orders of Government, and will be deemed deserters if they withdraw without orders. The whole of them I presume went under orders from their County Lieutenants which are as obligatory as those of the Executive: how far particular stipulations may have been made with them I am uninformed. None could be made with those we ordered out. I shall use every exertion in my power to forward on the new levies to you, as I am sensible it is much more practicable to carry on a war with militia within our own country than out of it. I wrote you by Colonel Morris on the subject of beeves. He will give you full information of the issue of our preparations against Arnold.

An enemy 3000 strong, not a regular within our State, nor arms to put into the hands of the militia are circumstances which promise difficulties. Yet I shall think it essential to do everything we can for you to prevent the return of Cornwallis's army.

TO REV. JAMES MADISON.

RICHMOND, April 8th, 1781.

SIR,—I am authorized to inform you that a good horse or two shall be furnished you by the public

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for your journey. I think it would be unreasonable for us to expect the Pennsylvania Commissioners to carry a time-piece to Fort Pitt unless we should send one to Philadelphia, which would be preposterous. I should be very unwilling to admit a difference to be begun with them on this subject. I think in my letter to you I undertook to assure you, that if the time-piece of the College should receive such an injury as could be repaired here, it should be repaired at the public expense, and if it could not be repaired, that the instrument should be replaced as soon as peace shall have opened importations to us; but, indeed, if carried in a covered wagon, which shall be provided, well packed, laid on a feather bed, which you may find it necessary to carry for yourself, or otherwise on straw, or perhaps swung, it cannot receive injury. When it is considered that this instrument was given by the public, that the loan of it is now asked for a purpose important to the public interest and in no small degree to geographical science and that it goes insured by the public, I hope the temporary inconveniences which may result by possibility will not deprive the State of the benefit of it.

You mention in your letter a purpose of coming here shortly. Let me take the liberty of entreating you to suffer the private motives which were leading you here to be enforced by the public object and to come immediately, as I wish much to be quite possessed of the mode and circumstances of transacting

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this business, before I write to President Reid, which I shall accordingly defer in hopes of seeing you. It will probably shorten the business if I can inform him what we have in idea, what we can contribute, etc. Besides this there is another very interesting subject on which some others as well as myself wish a free conference with you. In hopes of seeing you immediately I shall add nothing more than I am, with very great esteem, etc.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

IN COUNCIL, April 10th, 1781.

SIR,—General Scott having obtained permission from the Commandant at Charlestown for the shipping of tobacco from this State to that post for the relief of the Continental troops there of our line, sent me a copy of that permission taken by his Brigade Major. This paper not being sufficiently authentic to protect from capture vessels which should go laden with tobacco, I wrote to Major General Phillips to ask a passport and received his answer, extracts from both of which I now do myself the honor of enclosing to you. By his letter you will perceive he proposes that the regulations under which she goes shall be settled between yourself, himself and the British naval Commander here. General Phillips speaks in his letter of permitting a flag vessel in the singular number. It was not my intention in the application to fix it to a single

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vessel. The vessels we have it in our power to employ are so small that one of them laden with tobacco would carry very little relief.

It requires 100 hogsheads of tobacco a month to pay off the Virginia line in Charlestown and they are a twelve month in arrear and the debts that they have contracted are in proportion to those arrears. We had proposed to send from six to nine hundred hogsheads of tobacco. I wish, therefore, that the permission could be regulated rather by the tonnage than number of vessels.

Another circumstance of difficulty is introduced by his letter, which is, that an officer from Portsmouth must go in the vessel; to this we have not the least objection; but that he might expect to return in her, where as we can only procure vessels which would mean to pursue their mercantile objects to some other port for cargoes asking from Charlestown protection of the flag till they should be clear of their coasts. Should the restriction to a vessel, however, be insisted on by the British Commander we should ultimately wish to urge that a pilot boat be permitted to attend her for the purpose of bringing back the officers who necessarily go to attend to the delivery of the tobacco. As we have everything in readiness for sending this relief to our prisoners, and they are in extreme distress, I will beg the favor of as early an attention to the settlement of this matter as your business will permit you to bestow.

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TO CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE, THE FRENCH MINISTER.

RICHMOND, April 12th, 1781.

SIR,—I have the honor of your Excellency's favor of March 23d and shall with great pleasure communicate to our citizens our prospect of aid from his most Christian Majesty to whom we are already so infinitely indebted. I assure you, Sir, that these prospects are necessary to inspirit them under the present aspect of their affairs. We suppose one half of the enemy's force in the United States to be to the southward. Georgia and South Carolina have been long theirs, and North Carolina, however disposed, convulsed by the ravages of two armies, her citizens are too much engaged in saving their families and property to go in the American army. I believe it may, therefore, with truth be said, that the opposition to the two hostile armies in North Carolina and Virginia falls at present on Virginia only aided with about 500 men from Maryland. While our northern brethren infinitely superior in numbers, in compactness, in strength of situation, in access to foreign supplies, of necessaries, possessed of all the arms and military stores of the continent, opposed by an enemy not superior to ours, have the protection of almost the whole of the Continental army, with the very important addition of the army and fleet of our allies. A powerful enterprise meditated by the northwestern savages has obliged this State to have an army of between two and three

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thousand men collected at this time at the Ohio. The Cherokees on our southwestern corner take off the aid of our most valuable counties in that quarter. To support General Greene and prevent the enemy entering our country on the south we are obliged to send the whole of our regulars and continual reliefs of militia, and on our seaboard an enemy three thousand strong is firmly posted, has totally shut up the only door we had to commerce for either private or public purposes, and lays us under the necessity of keeping up two armies of militia to prevent their ravaging the adjacent country. Notwithstanding all this I believe from what I have lately seen that we should be substantially safe were our citizens armed, but we have not as many arms as we have enemies in the State.

Under such circumstances it is not easy to foretell events, and it is natural for our people to ask if they are to have no help from others.

Should any considerable part of the Union be abandoned to the enemy, it must be in their hands very formidable to the future safety of the rest.

The interests of our allies, were an appeal to that motive necessary, would place the southern States in a point of view of some importance, as presenting to them very fair objects of commerce. This consideration, however, was not wanting to draw to us the aid of his most Christian Majesty. The late efforts made for us by his fleet and army demonstrate that his attention is not partial, and the hope held up in your letter of the 23d is a further proof.

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The northern States are safe: their independence has been established by the joint efforts of the whole. It is proved as far as testimony can prove anything that our enemies have transferred every expectation from that quarter, and mean nothing further there than a diversion in favor of their southern arms. It would be unfortunate, indeed, should it be again proposed to lose a campaign on New York and to exhaust on that the efforts of the confederacy as those of Spain on Gibraltar, to give up provinces in the south for towns in the north. Should a superiority on the Continental seas be obtained by your fleet, it will save everything from north to south: if the detachments of the British army can once be insulated, they will be whittled down by the militia, by famine, by sickness and desertion to nothing.

If they can be prevented availing themselves of an army flying on the wings of the wind to relieve the laboring part acting in New York this week, in Portsmouth the next, in Charlestown the third, the Continental war would be totally changed, and a single campaign would strip them of the labors and laurels of half a dozen. Could the enemies for instance at Portsmouth be excluded from the water, they might be blockaded by land and must fall in a due course of time without the loss of a man on our part.

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TO COLONEL OLIVER TOWLES.

RICHMOND, April 14th, 1781.

SIR,—The same very disagreeable intelligence which you have been pleased to communicate to me, of the operations of our savage enemy on the Potomac, has come to hand from several parts of that river. Colonel Skinner particularly has written on the subject of arms. The order I enclosed him, tardy as the supply may be, is the utmost it is in our power to do. From his letter we are to judge about a third of his militia have guns. These I suppose not to be very good, but they are unfortunately what we are obliged to have recourse to: the 200 stand from Annapolis, for which I gave him an order, are said to be very fine. The defence at Hunter's and the public work at Fredericksburg are very important, indeed, and I hope will be very particularly attended to by the adjacent counties. No intelligence from Portsmouth gives us reason to believe that any regular forces have been sent on this expedition; so that we trust that it is less formidable than some representations make it. The worst is that a country vulnerable in every point is open to insult and depredation to even the smallest force, yet important points may we trust be guarded. In effecting this we rely on your exertions being added, as we are assured they will be.

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TO COLONELS SKINNER AND GARRARD.

RICHMOND, April 14th, 1781.

SIRS,—I am exceedingly sorry to learn that the enemy are committing such cruel depredations in your part of the country; however it may tend to produce immoveable hatred against so detestable a nation and thereby strengthen our Union. Yet in the mean time it brings afflicting distress on individuals and by diverting so great a proportion of our force from their principal object leaves achievements in their power which otherwise could not be.

We had thrown the whole burden of militia duty on the southern counties, leaving those to the north quiet till they should get through the raising of their new levies. That being done we have set the southern counties on the same business and relied on our northern citizens to constitute the opposition to the hostile army below. Thus deprived for two months of the aid of the southern counties and so many of the northern like to be diverted, our army is reduced to less than a third of the number of our enemy who, of course, may march wherever they please. Situated as you are we cannot say that the men before called for must march at all events. We wish you to consider the above circumstances and viewing at the same time your own situation, to determine yourself whether the force called for can be spared without endangering your part of the country. Every part being equally within our care we wish not to

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expose one for the defence of another. The very important works at and near Fredericksburg we must recommend to your particular protection, as also the saving all public tobacco within your county. Sir John Peyton for us purchased lately at Baltimore about 200 stand of arms from Isaac and Adam Van Bibber and Co. They were brought to Annapolis in the vessels which brought on the Marquis Fayette's detachment. Sir John Peyton has written to have them brought on by land, but he does not inform me to whom he has written. It is not in our power to offer you any other supply of arms but this. Were you to send some person in quest of these he would probably be able to meet with, or find them out and have them forwarded to you. His reasonable expenses and those of transportation shall be paid by the public, and the arms when you get them may be applied under your care for the defence of that part of the country instead of the 150 formerly ordered which you have not received. I enclose you an order for these arms.

TO COLONEL JAMES INNES.

RICHMOND, April 21st, 1781.

SIR,—Within an hour after receiving your first notification that the enemy were in movement we issued orders to the militia of the counties of Chesterfield, Prince George, Dinwiddie, Powhatan, Goochland, Hanover and Henrico to assemble

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immediately every man able to bear arms, and one half of those of Amelia and Cumberland and to bring with them the best arms they had. They were to rendezvous at Petersburg and this place. Some volunteer cavalry were also called for. These orders were communicated to Baron Steuben and the several letters of information from you have been regularly and immediately forwarded to him. And I doubt not the moment the militia come in and can receive (such as are unarmed) the spare arms from the south side of the river he will order them to your assistance, now that it appears that yours is the post of their destination.

Though our orders calling out the militia went out on Thursday morning not a man is yet assembled here. I am told the Powhatan militia will be in today. Certainly those of this county will be as early. This fatal tardiness will I fear be as unfortunate to Williamsburg on this occasion as it was for Richmond.

Be assured that no effort of ours for your support shall be wanting and that the resources of the country as our powers will call them forth shall be applied to the relief of the part threatened. I must entreat you to let us hear from you daily while the scene is so interesting.

P. S. You observe we said nothing of the militia of the counties near Williamsburg because we supposed you would, of course, call for as many as you could arm.

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TO COLONEL BENJAMIN HARRISON.

IN COUNCIL, April 22d, 1781.

SIR,—We thought it best, as I informed you in a former letter, to call into service on this occasion the militia whose families and property were not immediately exposed. Being circumscribed in our number of arms, it still appears best, that what we have should be put into the hands of those militia. Were we to send any to Charles City we must dismiss so many militia now collected here and at Manchester. Experience has also shown it preferable for another reason to put your arms into the hands of those not exposed, because on the enemy's coming into the exposed parts of the country, the militia of the neighborhood will desert, carry off their arms and perhaps suffer them to be taken off by the enemy. We, therefore, think to retain the militia collected and collecting here, who we expect every moment will receive marching orders from Baron Steuben and that yours should be permitted to take care of their families and property.

I am informed the enemy have got possession of the ship-yard and that by the most unaccountable inattention the Lewis and safeguard galleys have withdrawn up Chickahominy instead of James River.

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TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

IN COUNCIL, April 22d, 1781.

SIR,—I enclose you two letters just received from Colonel Innes. We are in great anxiety for him. His force, we are told, is very considerably reduced by desertion and he has no cavalry. I make no doubt you see how far it is necessary to send him reinforcements and will order them accordingly. I have no return of the numbers of militia here. Indeed, it is changing every hour by the arrival of others. Report makes three or four hundred at this place and Manchester. The new raised cavalry or a due proportion of it may perhaps be of singular use to him. We have determined to remove our armorer's shop to the Fork of James River immediately. Colonel Davies expects they will be at work there within ten days and that he shall be able to procure a very considerable number of hands there. Considering the greater security of that place than Powhatan Courthouse and the little probability from General Muhlenberg's letter of removing the armorers from Broadwater, perhaps you will think it better that our armorers should all be employed together at the Fork under Colonel Davies's direction than to send any part of them to Powhatan Courthouse.

We made a proposition to the militia of Prince George, which we had reason to believe would have effected the immediate completion of the work at Hood's. It was that any man of that county who

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would go or send an able laborer to work there 12 days should have six weeks' credit on his tours of duty out of the county. Unfortunately the movements of the enemy obliged us the very next day to call every man into the field. Nevertheless if you think it more important you will be pleased to permit such of them to quit the field, as choose to comply with the proposition. One caution may perhaps be necessary: that is to order those militia to a separate position from that of the other counties, lest the restraining the offer to the militia of Prince George might produce an idea of partiality and give dissatisfaction to the rest. One county will suffice for the execution of this work and it would be improvident to make the proposition to more. I enclose you some intelligence which at this time of depression we thought it would be well to put in hand bills and communicate to both armies. I send a parcel to Colonel Innes's and trouble you with those for General Muhlenberg's.

I received a letter from the Marquis Fayette to-day dated Baltimore, April 17th: he was then coming on by forced marches for Virginia.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.[1]

RICHMOND, April 24th.

SIR,—I have information this morning from Captain Maxwell on his own view that the enemy landed

[1] Copied from the original letter in the collection of Sparks manuscripts belonging to Harvard University.

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at Westover yesterday evening. If it be impossible that he should have been deceived, it is equally unaccountable that we are uninformed of it from the videttes sent. The movements of the enemy up Chickataming obliged Colonel Innes, encumbered with 20 wagons with stores, and 100 sick, to cross Pamunkey at Ruffens Ferry. As soon as he has disposed of those, he will endeavor, if the movements of the enemy render it proper, to retire towards this place. There are here about 200 militia armed, and 300 unarmed. At Manchester there is, I am told, a larger number armed, but of this I have no proper information. The militia of several counties being here, I gave Colonel Wood the command till you should be able to have them arranged as you should choose. He happened to be here on business, and it will be inconvenient to him to continue any time. Can the object of the enemy be our vessels at Osbornes? There are no public stores *here*, and they have showed that private depredation is not within their views.

Colonel Southell showed to Colonel Wood and myself, your orders of yesterday for the militia to divide into two parties and go to the Long Bridge, and Turkey Island and to correspond with Colonel Innes. But the enemy having, as is supposed, landed at Westover, and Colonel Innes crossed Pamunkey, it was thought advisable that Colonel Wood should await your orders on those new circumstances, supposed to be unknown to you at the date of your order.

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As soon as it is known that the enemy are landed at Westover, and my presence here no longer necessary, I shall cross the river either here or at Tuckahoe and keep in the neighborhood on the other side. I shall be ready and happy to give you every aid from the civil power which may be necessary.

TO COLONEL VANMETER.

RICHMOND, April 27th, 1781.

SIR,—I have directed Mr. Woodrow to furnish money for the bounty of the new levies out of what was put into his hands for the removal of your militia to Pittsburg.

I am sorry such a spirit of disobedience has shown itself in your county. It must be subdued. Laws made by common consent must not be trampled on by individuals. It is very much the good to force the unworthy into their due share of contributions to the public support, otherwise the burden on them will become oppressive, indeed. We have no power by the law of raising cavalry in the counties generally, but on some similar occasions we have recommended to the County Lieutenants who have the power of forming their militia companies as they please, to form into one company such individuals of their militia as will engage to mount and equip themselves and to serve as mounted infantry, and we give commissions to the officers in the ordinary style. These may be used as effectually as cavalry;

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and men on horseback have been found the most certain instruments of public punishment.

Their best way, too, perhaps is not to go against the mutineers when embodied which would bring on perhaps an open rebellion or bloodshed most certainly, but when they shall have dispersed, to go and take them out of their beds, singly and without noise, or if they be not found the first time, to go again and again so that they may never be able to remain in quiet at home. This is what I must recommend to you and, therefore, furnish the bearers with the commissions as you desire.

If you find this service considerable you will, of course, give the individuals credit for it as a tour of duty.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, April 27th, 1781.

SIR,—One half the Cumberland militia, and of those of Amelia, were ordered down. Some of the former have come in. I have ordered them to go to you, but what should be done with such of them as have no arms I think doubtful.

We have found by experience that the men of those counties where the enemy are, cannot be kept in the field; they desert and carry off their arms. It also seems reasonable that such should be permitted to go to their homes, to withdraw or otherwise to take care of their families and property.

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Under this view it would seem right that as unarmed militia come in from other counties, we should discharge those of Prince George, Dinwiddie and Chesterfield; next to these the militia of Powhatan; and lastly Henrico, Hanover, Goochland. Indeed, those of Amelia and Cumberland were only meant to be kept in the field till those whom I formerly stated to you as intended for the service of May and June should come in. I would observe to you that Prince George, Dinwiddie, Chesterfield, Powhatan, Amelia and Cumberland have not yet got through the raising their new levies. These observations suffice to possess you of the general views of the Executive, and you will be pleased to regulate by them the discharges of the militia as far as circumstances will admit.

TO COLONEL JAMES INNES.

RICHMOND, May 2d, 1781.

SIR,—Having received information that diverse citizens of this Commonwealth in the counties of James City and York, have lately committed acts, some of which amount to high treason and others to misprision of treason, and that some though they may have been able to disguise and conceal their transactions as that legal evidence cannot be obtained by which they may be subjected to prosecution for treason or misprision of treason in a due course of law, yet have so conducted themselves as

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to furnish the most pregnant circumstances of suspicion that they have been guilty of those offences, or are disaffected to the independence of the United States, and will, whenever they shall have opportunity, aid or advise the measures of the public enemy, which persons, in the critical situation of this Commonwealth, it is indispensably necessary to punish for their crimes by way of example to others and to disable from doing mischief: I must, therefore, as you are proceeding to that part of the country, desire and authorize you to make enquiry into the premises, and where you shall have probable cause to believe that any persons have been guilty of treason or misprision of treason, that there is legal evidence to commit them thereof, and that an examining Court can be had on them in the county where the offence was committed before there shall be any danger of a rescue by the enemy, you have them delivered to the warrant of a Justice of the Peace, in order that they may be prosecuted in the usual forms of law, and be aiding in their safe conveyance to the public jail in Richmond, if they be ordered to be conveyed. But where you shall be of opinion that legal evidence cannot be obtained, that an examining Court cannot be procured in the county before there will be danger of a rescue by the enemy and that there are pregnant circumstances of suspicion that they have been guilty of the offences of treason or misprision of treason, or where there shall be pregnant causes of suspicion that

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persons in these counties are disaffected to the independence of the United States; and when occasion serves, aid or advise the operations of the enemy, that in those cases you apprehend such persons, and send them in safe custody to the jail of this county reporting to the Executive the facts and circumstances of suspicion whereon you proceed. In the executions of these powers, I must recommend to you that you have no retrospect to any fact prior to the 17th of April last, being the day the enemy embarked at Portsmouth; that you single out only those who have been foremost or most daring in their offences, and that even these be treated by those into whose hands they shall be committed with no insult or rudeness unnecessary for their safe custody.

TO COLONEL ABRAHAM PENN.

RICHMOND, May 4th, 1781.

SIR,—I am exceedingly sorry that the public situation should be such as to render it necessary to call our citizens from their farms at this interesting season of the year But the enemy will not suspend their operations till we can sow or reap, so that we must have our army on foot as well at these as the other seasons of the year. We have called on eleven counties to furnish a reinforcement to General Greene, and hope it will be the last time we shall have occasion to require our militia to go out of their own country as we think it most advisable to put

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that distant disagreeable service on our regulars, and to send them forward as fast as raised, and to employ our militia on service in our own country. And I am confident that if the reinforcement of militia now under orders to General Greene is marched, and serves the two months with him which is intended, that by that time he will be so reinforced by regulars as to retain possession of North and the greatest part of South Carolina, and thus keep to the war at a distance from us. On the contrary, if he is not supported by the militia until the regulars can get to him, he will be driven back and we shall have the war on us.

Of the eleven counties called on, seven have applied to be excused. You will immediately see, Sir, what would be the consequence of complying with their request.

The Executive have, therefore, been obliged to insist on the requisition. Mr. Henry has written on the same subject, as to your county, but the grounds on which a relaxation of the order is proposed, being met as every other county has or as would, go to a perpetual exemption from military duty, we cannot withdraw the call.

Captain Baurt has engaged fifty horse to go for three months, but this is no equivalent for 250 infantry to serve two months. I must, therefore, Sir, rely on your zeal and activity to carry the former requisition into execution.

It is probable you may have among you some

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delinquent militia who should by law serve six months, as a punishment for their delinquency; these, if sent with the militia, might be counted as part.

TO MARQUIS MAJOR-GENERAL DE LA FAYETTE.

RICHMOND, May 14th, 1781.

SIR,—I was sorry that the situation of my family had occasioned my absence from this place when you were pleased to send Captain Langhorne to me.

I enclose you a state of the counties who have been called on to come into the field, some of them to perform full tour of duty and others to make a present opposition to the junction of the two hostile armies. The delay and deficiencies of the first are beyond all expectation and if the calls on the latter do not produce sufficient reinforcements to you I shall candidly acknowledge that it is not in my power to do anything more than to represent to the General Assembly that unless they can provide more effectually for the execution of the laws it will be vain to call on militia. I could perhaps do something by reprimands to the County Lieutenants by repeating and even increasing the demands on them by way of penalty. If you would be so good as to have returns made to me once a week or at any other stated periods of the particular number of men from each county. Without these we can never know what counties obey our calls, or how long your men

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are to continue with you so as to provide in time. From Hampshire and Shenandoah we expected many riflemen. From Berkeley and Frederick some, and a few from Culpeper, Orange, Loudoun and Fauquier, but what number may be expected I cannot even conjecture. One tenth of the whole force (except from the counties of Frederick, Hampshire, Berkeley, Shenandoah, and Orange, who were called on before we had concluded on this measure) were desired to come prepared with the horses to do duty as cavalry. The militia which were called to do a full tour were to join the army wherever it should be. Those counties called on to send as many men as they could send armed were to rendezvous at Richmond, Prince Edward Court House and Taylor's Ferry on Roanoke, as should be most convenient, where they were given to believe orders would be lodged from you for their future movements. These men are collecting to their places of rendezvous, so that they will need immediately such orders as you should be pleased to give them. I have the pleasure to enclose to you the four impress warrants, desired by Captain Langhorne.

Captain Maxwell called on me the 10th inst. and informed me he was building a few boats at the shipyard on Chickahominy. I desired him to send a good batteau builder to Colonel Davies to superintend and direct a number of hands whom he would immediately put under him for building batteaux for the river above the Falls, and that he would set

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all the rest of his people to building boats for navigating the lower parts of the river, but so light and of such a form as that they might be moved on wheels, and that those should be built either here or above the Falls as safety and convenience should dictate. He left me with a promise to do so, and I expect he is engaged in the execution. His hands being to remove from the shipyard there will, of course, occasion some delay.

The General Assembly having determined to meet at Charlottesville on the 22d inst. renders it necessary for the Executive to prepare for removing there, and particularly for myself to go and see that provision be made for the reception of the Public Boards and Records. I shall leave this place this evening.

As a very frequent communication between yourself and the Executive will be necessary I have directed the State Quartermaster to station a line of express riders from your camp to Charlottesville by whom you will be so good as to communicate your wants from time to time under a full assurance that nothing in my power shall ever be wanting to supply them. Interesting events will always be acceptable whenever you shall have time to add them to a letter or make them the subject of a special one.

P. S. Lest anything should suffer which it is in my power to prevent I have concluded to stay here this evening and to do myself the pleasure of calling on you at your quarters to-morrow morning.

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TO MAJOR-GENERAL MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, May 31st, 1781.

SIR,—I had the honor last night of receiving your favor of the 28th from Goldmine Creek and this morning that of the 29th. I shall be very happy, indeed, if against such a superiority of cavalry you shall be able to keep out of the way of the enemy till you are fully inforced. I imagine General Weedon's observation as to his want of power to call forth the militia respects the counties round about Fredericksburg; but all those on the south side of the Rappahannock have been called on by the Executive, and to those on the north side, they may be called on under our invasion law, which directs that the commanding officer of the militia of any county hearing of the approach of an enemy shall call on so many circumjacent counties as he shall think necessary, which counties by their officers are obliged to obey his call. I have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Ross's agent in Philadelphia on the 9th instant forwarded 275 stand of arms and a ton of powder to Fredericksburg; on the 11th he forwarded another stand of arms; on the 18th he forwarded 600 stand of arms, and by this time expected the remainder of 2000 engaged from Congress by the Board of War. I must pray you to take such measures through General Weedon, or otherwise, as may secure these stores from falling into the hands of the enemy and moving them to where they may be useful to you. Your

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knowledge of the movements of the enemy will enable you to do this with safety, whereas at the distance I am from them my orders, however proper when given, might by a change of their route lead the arms into their way. Besides the preceding arms General Washington has sent on 1000 stand, and the Board of War were sending on 2000 more from Springfield. As to the eleven hundred and odd stand which lately came on from Rhode Island the property of this State, I desired Colonel Davies after delivering to Baron Steuben as many as he has new recruits to return the rest for the militia of your camp. Will you be so good as to advise him by what route you will have them sent to your camp or to what other place. Two hundred of them being yet in your neighborhood I have ordered them for present safety to Rockfish Gap, from which place they will be moved according to any order you may give.

With respect both to those arms and the new levies, I am desired to communicate to you the enclosed Resolution of General Assembly. The representation there directed of the present state, quantity and condition of the public arms would be unnecessary to you who know already more than I do, nor can anybody be more sensible than yourself of the reasons which urge the detention of the new levies till other effectual force can be assembled. I shall, therefore, in compliance with resolution only add my desire that you will be pleased to retain all those arms within the State for its particular defence.

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Two days before the receipt of your letter of the 28th I had dispatched one to you enclosing eight impress warrants, to provide horses from the counties contiguous to the enemy's line of march. The Assembly used this undefined expression in order to give you a latitude to impress, knowing that a precise circumscription might defeat their intention altogether. This, therefore, anticipated your desire expressed in that letter of extending your power 50 miles around. It also takes in your second request in the letter of the 20th to authorize Colonel White to impress on the south side of James River. The counties through which the enemy marched or bordered on them are within the extent of the impress warrants sent you, one of which being given to Colonel White will authorize him to impress in Amelia, Powhatan, Chesterfield, Dinwiddie, Prince Edward, Brunswick and the other counties there abounding in good horses. I will immediately direct the county superintendents to collect all accoutrements for horses belonging to the public in their counties and to send them to such place as Colonel White shall appoint and in the mean time to your camp.

The prisoners of war in the State are most of them in the hands of Colonel Holmes, Continental Commissary of prisoners at Winchester. There are a few at Staunton. Your orders to either place will be effectual.

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TO FRANCIS EPPES.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 14, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—You will hardly expect to receive a letter from me at this place, and of so late a date. Yet I have apprehensions of being here ten days or a fortnight longer, for though ready myself, some time since, the vessel in which I go is not ready. Yesterday's post brought no mail from Virginia. I was not disappointed in this, as I was pretty certain that under expectation of my being gone you did not write. I had entertained some hope of meeting a letter from you on my first arrival here, but suppose the same idea of its not coming in time prevented it, so that at present I have no hope of hearing again, while on this side of the water, from yourself and family and those dear little ones I left with you. We have heard nothing since my last from which the length of my absence may be conjectured. The last authentic advices were of the 14th of October, but the affair of Gibraltar happened just then, and the negotiation was in such a state that what had passed between the negotiators was at that time under submission to the British court for their approbation or disavowal. How far this would be influenced by their good fortune at Gibraltar is the question which the next advices must certainly solve. Since I came here there has been sold the Westover copy of Catesby's History of Carolina. It was held near a

[1] First published in Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. III, p. 586.

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twelvemonth at twelve guineas, and at last sold for ten. This seems to fix what should be given for Mr. Bolling's copy, if you can induce him to let me have it, which I am very anxious for. Perhaps it would be a temptation to offer that the ten guineas should be paid to Mr. Ross's agent at Nantes, where he could lay them out and send the articles to Mr. Bolling. His draft shall be paid on sight in Paris. Perhaps you had better effect this by making the proposition to Mrs. Bolling. Of this your knowledge of the family will enable you to judge. Be so good as to present me most affectionately to Mrs. Eppes, Mr. and Mrs. Skipwith, and the two families, and believe me to be, with very great sincerity, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JAMES MADISON.

BALTIMORE, 7 February, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—I write by this post to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but will repeat to you the facts mentioned to him and some others improper for a public letter, and some reflections on them which can only be hazarded to the ear of friendship. The cold weather having set in the evening of the 30th ult. (being the same in which I arrived here) the Chevalier de Ville-brun was obliged to fall down with his ship and the Guadeloupe to about twelve miles below this; and the ice has since cut off all correspondence with him till yesterday, when I got a boat and

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attempted a passage. There having passed a small boat before us, we got about half way with tolerable ease, but the influx of the tide then happening the ice closed on us on every side and became impenetrable to our little vessel, so that we could get neither backwards nor forwards. We were finally relieved from this situation by a sloop which forced its way down and put us on board the Romulus, where we were obliged to remain all night. The Chevalier de Ville-brun communicated to me several letters of intelligence which deserves weight; by which we are informed that the enemy, having no other employment at New York, have made our little fleet their sole object for some time, and have now cruising for us nothing less than 1 ship of 64 guns, 4 ships of 50 guns, 2 ships of 40 guns, 18 frigates from 24 to 30 guns, a most amazing force for such an object. The merchants who intended to have sent their vessels out with us, have so far declined it, that two vessels only go with us, but they are unfortunately the greatest sluggards in the world. The Minister has given Ville-brun leave to remain if he thinks it expedient till the middle of March, but politely and kindly offered the Guadeloupe for my passage if I chose to run the risk. I find that having laid ten months under water she got perfectly sobbed, insomuch that she sweats almost continually on the inside, in consequence of which her commander and several of the crew are now laid up with rheumatism. But this I should have disregarded had it not ap-

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peared that it was giving to the enemy the ship and crew of a friend, and delaying myself in fact by endeavoring at too much haste. I, therefore, have not made use of the liberty given me by the Minister. Ville-brun seems certain he shall not sail on the first of March, and I confess to you I see no reason to suppose that when that time arrives the same causes will not place our departure as distant as it now seems. What then is to be done? I will mention the several propositions which occur with some reflections on each.

1. To go to Boston and embark thence. Would to God I had done this at first. I might now have been half-way across the ocean. But it seems very late to undertake a journey of such length, through such roads and such weather: and when I should get there some delay would still necessarily intervene,—yet I am ready to undertake it if this shall be thought best.

2. To stay here with patience till our enemies shall think proper to clear our coast. There is no certain termination to this object. It may not be till the end of the war.

3. To fall down to York or Hampton and there wait those favorable circumstances of winds and storms which the winter season sometimes presents. This would be speedier than the second but perhaps it may not be approved of by the commander for reasons which may be good though unknown to me. Should this, however, be adopted we ought to be

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furnished by the Marine department with, or authorized to employ one or more swift sailing boats to go out of the capes occasionally and bring us intelligence to York or Hampton wherever we should be.

4. To ask a flag for me from the enemy and charter a vessel here. This would be both quickest and most certain, but perhaps it may be thought injurious to the dignity of the States, or perhaps be thought such a favor as Congress might not choose to expose themselves to the refusal of. With respect to the last, nothing can be said: as to the first, I suppose were history sought, many precedents might be found where one of the belligerent powers has received from the other, passports for their Plenipotentiaries; and I suppose that Fitzgerald and Oswald got to Paris now under protection of a flag and passport. However, these are tender points and I would not wish the sensibility of Congress to be tried on my account, if it would be probably disagreeable.

5. To await a truce. This cannot take place till after preliminaries are signed, if then: and though these are not definitive, yet it must be evident that new instructions and new or perhaps inconsistent matter would be introduced with difficulty and discredit.

There is an idle report here of peace being actually concluded. This comes by the way of the West Indies, and must probably be founded on the settlement of preliminaries, if it has any foundation at all.

Should you think that the interference of Congress

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might expedite my departure in any of the above ways, or any other, I have suggested these hasty reflections in hopes that you would do in it whatever you think right. I shall acquiesce in anything, and if nothing further comes to me I shall endeavor to push the third proposition with the Commander, and if I fail in that shall pursue the second. I wish to hear from you as often as you have anything new. I fear I shall be here long enough to receive many letters from you. My situation is not an agreeable one, and the less so as I contrast it with the more pleasing one I left so unnecessarily. Be so good as to present my esteem to the good ladies and gentlemen of your fireside and to accept yourself the warmest assurances of friendship from, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

Feb. 8. The preceding was written last night. Before I close my letter I will ask the favor of you to write me by the return of post and to let me have your own sentiments (whether anything be, or be not determined authoritatively) which will have great weight with me. I confess that after another night's reflection the fourth is the plan which appears to me best on the whole, and that the demand from New York is nothing more than what is made at the close of almost every war, where the one or the other power must have a passport: it is no more than asking a flag to New York. Should this, however, be disapproved, the third seems the only remaining plan which promises any degree of expedition. Perhaps

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the Minister may have a repugnance to venture the Romulus at York or Hampton, in which case if I could receive his approbation I should be willing to fall down there with the Guadeloupe alone and be in readiness to avail ourselves of a northwesterly snow storm or other favorable circumstance.

TO JAMES MADISON.

BALTIMORE, Feb. 14, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 11th came to hand last night. From what you mention in your letter I suppose the newspapers must be wrong when they say that Mr. Adams had taken up his abode with Dr. F——. I am nearly at a loss to judge how he will act in the negotiation. He has F——, he has Jay, he has the French, he has the English, to whom will he adhere? His vanity is a lineament in his character which had entirely escaped me. His want of taste I had observed. Notwithstanding all this he has a sound head on substantial points, and I think he has integrity. I am glad, therefore, that he is of the commission and expect he will be useful in it. His dislike of all parties, and all men, by balancing his prejudices, may give them some fair play to his reason as would a general benevolence of temper. At any rate honesty may be extracted even from poisonous weeds.

My stay here has given me opportunities of making some experiments on my amanuensis F——s perhaps

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better than I may have in France. He appears to have a good enough heart, and understanding somewhat better than common, but too little guard over his lips. I have marked him particularly in the company of women where he loses all power over himself, and becomes almost [ ].[1] His temperature would not be proof against their allurements, were such to be employed as engines against him. This is in some measure the vice of his age, but it seems to be increased also by his peculiar constitution.

I wrote to the Chevalier de Ville-brun proposing his falling down to York or Hampton which was one of the measures I suggested in my letter to you, and was the most eligible except that of the flag, in my own opinion. His answer dated Feb. 12, is in these words: 'Je serois bien de l'avis proposé à votre Excellence d'aller mouiller à York ou Hampton pour être à portée de profiter des premiers vents de Nord Ouest qui me mettroient loin de la côte dans la nuit, surtout si je n'avois pas de convoy à conserver, mais des batiments entrés anjourd'hui raportent avoir été chassés par quatre fregates pis que sur la Cap Charles et avoir vu au mouillage de Linhaven un vaisseau et un frégate qui ont appareillés et pris un Brig qui navigoit avec eux. De plus York et Hampton n' ont pas un canon monté, si l'ennemi trés supérieur, entreprenoit de venir nous y forcer, il y auroit peu de sureté.

Peutêtre conviendroit-il autant d'attendre, comme

[1] A word is lacking here in the manuscript.

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le propose M. de la Luzerne, jusqu'au mois prochain, des nouvelles de l'Europe, ou l'arrivée d'une division des Antilles promise par M. de Vaudreuil, ou bien encore que l' ennemi fatigué ne fut obligé de rentrer à New York.' * * * * * * *

To go to Boston would be the most economical plan. But it would be five weeks from my leaving this place before I could expect to sail from thence. Of course, I may from here be in France by the time I should be sailing from Boston.

Five weeks in a crisis of negotiation may be much. Should I accept of the Guadeloupe, and she should be lost, it would under present circumstances draw censure. Moreover in this or the former case, besides losing the vessel, what will be my situation?—that of a prisoner certainly. From what has been done in Lauren's case they would not release me in expectation of a high exchange; or if they did, it would only be on parole; in which case I could neither act nor communicate. This plan would have in its favor economy and a possibility (a bare one) of despatch. That of the flag still appears best. It is favored by the circumstances of despatch, safety, and the preservation of our papers. But when I think of the expense I feel myself annihilated in comparison with it. A vessel may be got here, but I question if for less than 11.819. 36 or 843.10. 819.36 pounds. Besides can a passport be obtained from New York without naming the vessel, the crew, etc. If not, it would take long to furnish these cir-

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cumstances from hence. The Delaware would be more eligible in that case. Otherwise this place is. If this should be adopted, what would be the extent of the protection of the flag to the papers I should carry? These, so far as this question would affect them, would be of three descriptions. 1. My own commission, instructions, and other documents relative to my mission. 2. Public letters to the consuls, ministers and others on other business. 3. Private letters. I have no means of satisfying myself on these points here. If, therefore, this measure should be adopted, I should thank you for your opinion on them, as you can, where you are doubtful, make enquiry of others. I am exceedingly fatigued with this place, as, indeed, I should with any other where I had neither occupation nor amusement. I am very particularly indebted here to the politeness and hospitality of General La Vallette, who obliges me to take refuge in his quarters from the tedium of my own, the latter half of every day. You are indebted to him, too, as I should make my long letters much longer and plague you with more cypher[1] were I confined at home all day. I beg you to be assured of my warmest wishes for your happiness.

Feb. 15, 9 o'clock P. M. After sealing up this letter, I received yours of yesterday enclosing the King's speech, for which I thank you much. The essential information conveyed to us by that is that

[1] Part of this letter was written in cypher.

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the preliminary for our independence (which we before knew to have been agreed between the plenipotentiaries) has been provisionally ratified by him. I have thought it my duty to write the enclosed letter which after reading you will be so good as to stick a wafer in and deliver. I wish no supposed inclination of mine to stand in the way of a free change of measure, if Congress should think the public interest required it. The argument of economy is much strengthened by the impossibility (now certain) of going but in an express vessel. The principal matters confided to me were, 1. The new instruction; which perhaps may have been sent by Count Rochambeau, or may yet be sent. 2. The details of the financier's department which Mr. Morris, not choosing to trust to paper, had communicated verbally. These in the event of peace or truce may safely go in paper. 3. The topics which support our right to the fisheries, to the western country, and the navigation of the Mississippi. The first of these is probably settled. The two latter should only come into discussion in the Spanish negotiation, and, therefore, would only have been the subject of private conversation with Mr. Jay, whose good sense and knowledge of the subject will hardly need any suggestions.

I forgot to mention to you in my letter that Mr. Nash arrived here the day before yesterday on his way to North Carolina, and that Mr. Brunt is not yet arrived, but is weekly expected. I am yours affectionately.

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TO JAMES MADISON.

TUCKAHOE, May 7, 1783.

I received your favor of April 22 and am not a little concerned at the alteration which took place in the Report on the impost, etc., after I left you. The article which bound the whole together was, I fear, essential to get the whole passed; as that which proposed the conversion of State into Federal debts was one palatable ingredient at least in the pill we were to swallow. This proposition being then hopeful, I never consulted you whether the payment of our western expenditures, annexed as a condition to our passing the articles recommended, would not be acceded to by Congress; more especially when one of those articles is the cession of that very territory for the acquisition and defense of which these expenditures have been incurred. If I recollect rightly Congress offered this in their first proposition for a cession. I beg your sentiments, however, on this subject by return of the first post. Notwithstanding the unpromising form of these articles I have waited a fortnight in the neighborhood of Richmond that I might see some of the members. I passed yesterday in associating and conversing with as many of them as I could. The Attorney has cooperated in this work. This is the view I form at present of the leaders. Dr. Arthur Lee, R. H. Lee, Mr. Page, Taylor, will be against them. So will Thurston and White if elected, and even an A.

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Campbell is thought worthy of being named with these as having some influence in the southwestern quarter. In their favor will be Tyler, Tazewell, General Nelson, W. Nelson, Nicholas and a Mr. Stewart,[1] a young man of good talents from the westward. Henry as usual is involved in mystery: should the popular tide run strongly in either direction, he will fall in with it. Should it not, he will have a struggle between his enmity to the Lees, and his enmity to everything which may give influence to Congress. T. Mason[2] is a meteor whose path cannot be calculated. All the powers of his mind seem at present to be concentrated in one single object, the producing a convention to new model the Constitution.[3] This is a subject much agitated, and seems the only one they will have to amuse themselves with till they shall receive your propositions. These should be hastened; as I think the session will be short. I have seen Mr. Wythe. He has none of his amendments or notes on the Confederation.

Mr. Short has desired me to suggest his name as that of a person willing to become a legatine secretary should these offices be continued. I have apprised him of the possibility that they may not. You know my high opinion of his abilities and merits; I will, therefore, only add that a peculiar

[1] Archibald Stewart.
[2] Thompson Mason.
[3] Referring to the State Constitution.

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talent for prying into facts seems to mark his character as proper for such a business. He is young, and little experienced in business, though well prepared for it. These defects will lessen daily. Should persons be proposed less proper on the whole, you would on motives of public good, knowing his willingness to serve, give him a nomination and do justice to his character.

I rejoice at the information that 1832. 164. 928. 36. 323.[1] and yourself concur in sentiments. I rejoice as it will render you happier and give to me a neighbor on whom I shall set high value. You will be continued in your delegation till the end of three years from the completion of the Confederation. You will, therefore, model your measures accordingly. You say nothing of the time when you shall pay your visit to Virginia. I hope you will let me know of your arrival as soon as it happens. Should the call be made on me, which was sometimes the subject of our conversation, and be so timed with your visit as that you may be the bearer of it, I shall with great pleasure accommodate my movements to yours so as to accompany you on your return to Philadelphia.

I set out this morning for Monticello. My affectionate compliments to the ladies and gentlemen of the house, and sincere friendship to yourself. Adieu.

[1] The cyphers presumably allude to Miss Floyd, a young lady to whom at that time Madison was paying marked attentions.

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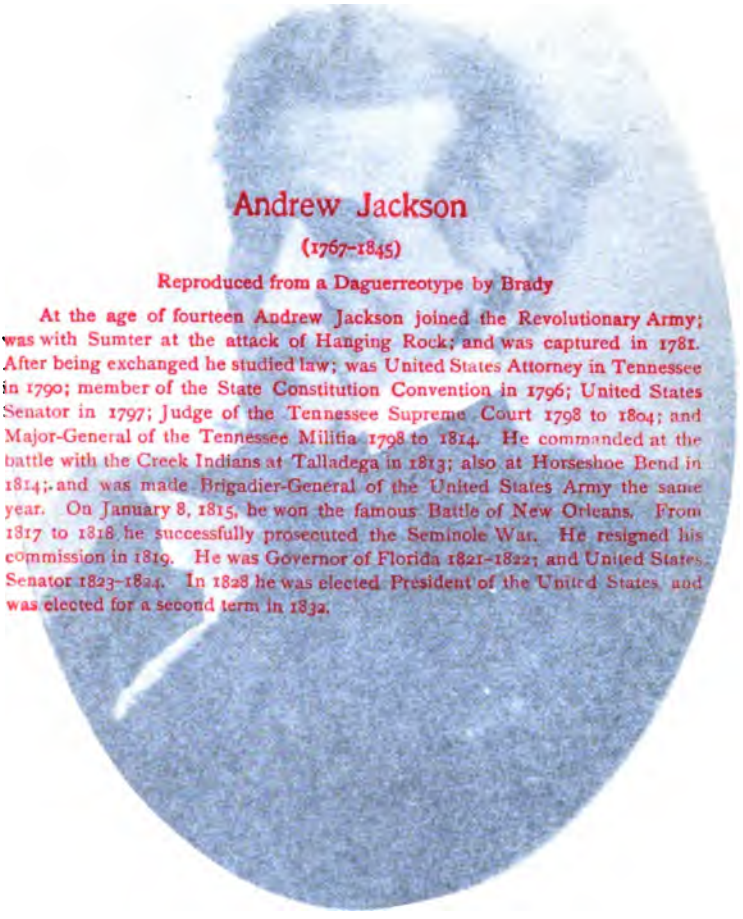

Andrew Jackson

(1767-1845)

Reproduced from a Daguerreotype by Brady

At the age of fourteen Andrew Jackson joined the Revolutionary Army; was with Sumter at the attack of Hanging Rock; and was captured in 1781. After being exchanged he studied law; was United States Attorney in Tennessee in 1790; member of the State Constitution Convention in 1796; United States Senator in 1797; Judge of the Tennessee Supreme Court 1798 to 1804; and Major-General of the Tennessee Militia 1798 to 1814. He commanded at the battle with the Creek Indians at Talladega in 1813; also at Horseshoe Bend in 1814; and was made Brigadier-General of the United States Army the same year. On January 8, 1815, he won the famous Battle of New Orleans. From 1817 to 1818 he successfully prosecuted the Seminole War. He resigned his commission in 1819. He was Governor of Florida 1821-1822; and United States Senator 1823-1824. In 1828 he was elected President of the United States and was elected for a second term in 1832.

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[illegible] such a business. [illegible] less proper on the [illegible] public good [illegible] give him a nomination [illegible] [illegible]ter.

[illegible] the information that [illegible] [illegible] will render [illegible] [illegible] value.

[illegible] you [illegible] with [illegible] to [illegible] to accompany you on your [illegible] Philadelphia.

I set out this morning for Monticello. My affectionate compliments to the ladies and [illegible] the house, and sincere friendship to [illegible]

[1] The cyphers presumably allude to Miss [illegible] whom at that time Madison was paying marked [illegible]

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TO JAMES MADISON.

MONTICELLO, June 17, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—Your favors of the 13th and 20th ult. came to hand about a week ago. I am informed the Assembly determined against the capacity of re-election in those gentlemen of the delegation who could not serve a complete year. I do not know on what this decision could be founded. My hopes of the success of the Congressional propositions here have lessened exceedingly. Mr. Henry had declared in favor of the impost: but when the question came on he was utterly silent. I understand it will certainly be lost if it be not already. Instead of ceding more lands to the United States a proposition is made to revoke the former cession. Mr. Henry is for bounding our State reasonably enough, but instead of ceding the parts lopped off he is for laying them off into small republics. What further his plan is I do not hear. However, you get the parliamentary news so much more directly from Richmond, that it is idle for me to give it you from hence.

A convention for the amendment of our Constitution having been much the topic of conversation for some time, I have turned my thoughts to the amendments necessary. The result I enclose to you. You will have opportunities during your stay in Philadelphia of enquiring into the success of some of the parts of it which though new to us have been tried in other States. I shall only except against your com-

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municating it to any one of my own country, as I have found prejudices frequently produced against propositions handed to the world without explanation or support. I trust that you will either now or in some future situation turn your attention to this subject in time to give your aid when it shall be finally discussed. The paper enclosed may serve as a basis for your amendment, or may suggest amendments to a better groundwork. I further learn that the Assembly are excluding members of Congress from among them. Whether the information they may derive from their presence, or their being marked by the confidence of the people, is the cause of this exclusion I cannot tell.

Be pleased to present me with affection to my acquaintances of the house, and to receive yourself the sincerest assurances of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

P. S. I will take the first opportunity of forwarding the pamphlet to your father.

TO CHARLES CARTER.

EPPINGTON, Oct. 12, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—Finding that Mr. Eppes has made no purchase of horses for me, the bearer comes for those you were so kind as to offer me. Thinking it almost certain that they will suit me from what I hear of them, I send you enclosed an order on Mr. Donald

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for £60, which will be paid at sight: only be so good as to keep it up till Tuesday evening, because if, contrary to my expectations, the horses should not suit, they shall be returned to you by that time. If you have a third horse matching them in all respects and of the same age, price and qualities, I will take him also: for as I shall go on to the northward with a pair of horses in my phaeton, it will be a great relief that the horse on which my servant shall ride may be changed with them occasionally.—One word more, my dear Sir, which is to express my uneasiness at your having supposed I imputed to you a motive in the change of price which never entered my head. I could not think you wanted to take advantage of any necessity of mine, because no such necessity existed. I shall not use the horses I purchase till the month of March; consequently I could not be under the spur of necessity till then, besides this I knew you too well to have thought it under any circumstances. I am, with sentiments of sincere attachment and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

P. S. If you send me a third horse I will send an order for payment of the price either to yourself or Mr. Donald according as the first conveyance may offer to the one or the other.

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TO MARTHA JEFFERSON.[1]

ANNAPOLIS, Nov. 28th, 1783.

DEAR PATSY,—After four days' journey, I arrived here without any accident, and in as good health as when I left Philadelphia. The conviction that you would be more improved in the situation I have placed you than if still with me, has solaced me on my parting with you, which my love for you has rendered a difficult thing. The acquirements which I hope you will make under the tutors I have provided for you will render you more worthy of my love; and if they cannot increase it, they will prevent its diminution. Consider the good lady who has taken you under her roof, who has undertaken to see that you perform all your exercises, and to admonish you in all those wanderings from what is right or what is clever, to which your inexperience would expose you: consider her, I say, as your mother, as the only person to whom, since the loss with which Heaven has pleased to afflict you, you can now look up; and that her displeasure or disapprobation, on any occasion, will be an immense misfortune, which should you be so unhappy as to incur by any unguarded act, think no concession too much to regain her good-will. With respect to the distribution of your time, the following is what I should approve:

From 8 to 10, practice music.

[1] First published in S. N. Randolph's *Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*, page 69.

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From 10 to 1, dance one day and draw another.

From 1 to 2, draw on the day you dance, and write a letter next day.

From 3 to 4, read French.

From 4 to 5, exercise yourself in music.

From 5 till bed-time, read English, write, etc.

Communicate this plan to Mrs. Hopkinson, and if she approves of it, pursue it. As long as Mrs. Trist remains in Philadelphia, cultivate her affection. She has been a valuable friend to you, and her good sense and good heart make her valued by all who know her, and by nobody on earth more than me. I expect you will write me by every post. Inform me what books you read, what tunes you learn, and enclose me your best copy of every lesson in drawing. Write also one letter a week either to your Aunt Eppes, your Aunt Skipwith, your Aunt Carr, or the little lady from whom I now enclose a letter, and always put the letter you so write under cover to me. Take care that you never spell a word wrong. Always before you write a word, consider how it is spelt, and, if you do not remember it, turn to a dictionary. It produces great praise to a lady to spell well. I have placed my happiness on seeing you good and accomplished; and no distress this world can now bring on me would equal that of your disappointing my hopes. If you love me, then strive to be good under every situation and to all living creatures, and to acquire those accomplishments which I have put in your power, and which will go far towards

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ensuring you the warmest love of your affectionate father.

P. S. Keep my letters and read them at times, that you may always have present in your mind those things which will endear you to me.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ANNAPOLIS, April 6, 1784.

DEAR SIR,—I am obliged to you for your query as to the distance from New York to Cuyahoga, as it occasioned my re-examination of that matter and detection of an error of 150 miles. The distances from New York to Niagara I collect from information as follows:

From New York to Albany	164	miles.
Oneida	165	
Oswego	171	
Niagara	180	
	680	
From Niagara to Cuyahoga	140	
	820	

This last distance I collect by measuring on Hutchin's map and reducing that proportionably by the known distance from Niagara to Detroit, which is 250 miles.

The public papers confirm the resignation of Mr. Pitt and his friends. A ship arrived here, and some others in Philadelphia have brought us a riddle without a key. They received their bounties and draw-

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backs on clearing out from London as they used to do while we were colonies without any public act authorizing it being visible. The Custom house officers tendered them, and they were not so rude as to refuse them. The prohibitory proclamation they say is eluded and connived at by government. We have 11 States in Congress and hope by the middle of May to adjourn to November. If anything prevents this it will be the representation of 8 States of the 11 by 2 members each, who frequently dividing retard business extremely.—The enclosed letter was put into my hands with a request to forward it to you.—This will be delivered you by Monsieur de Hogendorff, a relation of Mr. Van Berchel's. A very particular acquaintance with him here has led me to consider him as the best informed man of his age I have ever seen. Nature and application seem equally to have concurred in fitting him for important business. He returns to Holland, his native country, in the summer, and cannot deny himself the satisfaction of paying his tribute of respect to you.

P. S. The Minister of France arrived here to-day. I believe he is on a tour through Virginia, but I have not yet learned when he sets out. Since writing this I learn that the Minister has declined his tour through Virginia, but thinks to go as far as your house: perhaps within a fortnight.

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TO HORATIO GATES.[1]

ANNAPOLIS, May 7th, 1784.

DEAR GENERAL,—I received by the last post your favor of the 27th ultimo, and am much obliged for the communication therein. The ferment on the subject of your society seems just becoming general. They write us from Virginia that it works high there, and that the division is precisely into civil and military. We will not presume to send foreign news from Annapolis to Philadelphia. Congress expects to adjourn on the 3d of June. They have passed the estimate and requisitions for the year, and some recommendations to the States to vest Congress with such much power over their commerce as will enable them to retaliate on any nation who may wish to grasp it on unequal terms; and to enable them if it should be found expedient to pass something like the British navigation act. You say in the public papers a report of a committee, erroneously said to be an act of Congress, for dividing the western country into new States. That report was recommitted, the paragraphs of names struck off, the principles of government somewhat varied and the act then passed. Foreign treaties of commerce occupy us at present. I am not yet fixed as to the time of my coming to Philadelphia, though think it will not be long after the first.

[1] Copied from the original letter in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York.

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TO JAMES MONROE.

PHILADELPHIA, May 21, 1784.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 14th came duly to hand. It enabled me to give to Colonel Humphreys the first intimation of his appointment and to see that he received real pleasure from it. He was before unknown to me; but our future connection in business has occasioned me to inquire into his character, with which I am much pleased. We have taken arrangements for passing the Atlantic together. Short is not yet arrived. But had he not been coming, the servant whom I ordered to join me here would have been with me before now. I wait for time and for our commissions and instructions. The moment these arrive I shall set out for Boston, where a passage will be provided.—Is there a commission for an additional treaty with France? The instructions made this necessary, and without it we shall be at Paris but private citizens, unprotected by the laws of nations, and liable to the jurisdiction of the country. A very disagreeable affair has happened here which will give you trouble probably both on this and the other side the water. It is an assault by a very worthless Frenchman on Mr. Marbois, for refusing to give the attestations of the consulate to some falsehoods which he wished to establish. I mean to make myself acquainted with the affair and will write you particularly on it before I leave this place. General Knox went on from hence two days

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ago to receive the orders of Congress as to the western posts. The mouth of the Illinois is the interesting post for Virginia, because it will open a trade up the Missouri and Mississippi. The spot there is advantageous for defence according to Hutchins' pamphlet, and General Washington's letter on the peace establishment. Michillimacinac is very important for the United States in general: it is interesting to Virginia on the expectation that she may open the navigation from Lake Erie to Potomac. Detroit is a place of consequence, but so strongly settled that I doubt whether any force need be kept there. The New Yorkers will wish a force at Niagara or Oswego. I should yield to them as far as necessity requires; but the further north that post is the better for Virginia, were it even pushed to the intersection of the Cataraqui with the 45th degree. It might then leave a possibility of drawing the six nations to Fort Pitt. Mr. Thomson's counsel on this subject will probably be useful, the interests of Pennsylvania and Virginia being united as to all these posts. We shall not begin to scramble for the trade till we have brought it to Fort Pitt. To the southward it would be our interest to have an agency kept up with the Overhill Cherokees, and Martin the agent. If South Carolina and Georgia would then be contented with one other agency, and could agree on its situation it would be well. I had thought of the head of Mobile river because there is a very short portage from there to the waters of the Tennessee which would give us

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access to it, but Mr. Reid thought it too distant from the inhabited country. I am to thank you for your care of my baggage which is come safely to hand. Mr. Hopkinson had sent on under cover to me a draught from Mr. Morris for 233⅓ dollars for me, and for the amount of Mr. Hardy's bill. My part was intended for Mr. Jenifer. I hope you will have been so good as to dispose of both parts according to their destination. Boirod and Gaillard had also forwarded by the stage some of the books you desired. I have not yet received their bill and will transmit it to you as soon as received. The stage having ceased to pass between Baltimore and Annapolis, possibly these books may remain at the former place. I believe there is sometimes, too, a stoppage at Susquehanna by a change of interest in the proprietors of the stage. Should this have happened, your enquiries must come that far. I have had the pleasure of seeing three balloons here. The largest was of 8 feet diameter and ascended about 300 feet. I shall write to you again from this place and afterwards in the course of my northern progress. I shall be obliged to you to continue your letters as long as they can reach Boston by the 15th of June. A particular detail of Congressional proceedings, and of the communications from or concerning your foreign ministers will be most acceptable. Hopkinson tells me he had mentioned in his letter to me that the office of director or master of the mint would be acceptable. He was, therefore, uneasy when I told

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him that I had left a request with a friend to open my letters. But I satisfied him perfectly on that head, and that you would render him any service which the duties of your situation would permit. He is a man of genius, gentility and great merit, and at the same time poor and the father of a numerous family. He holds a little office here, more respectable than profitable, for he can but barely live. He is as capable of the office as any man I know and the appointment would give general pleasure, because he is generally esteemed.—Messrs. Boirod and Gaillard will be glad to receive the prospectus of the Encyclopedia. Foreseeing that if I turn over the leaf I shall plague you with another page full I will here bid you adieu.

TO CHARLES THOMSON.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, May 21, 1784.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 16th last night. I was out when it was delivered, so knew not how it came, a circumstance no otherwise important than as I am at a loss how or where to enquire for the packet which should have accompanied it, containing the commissions, instructions, etc. I shall immediately, however, make the enquiry. I am obliged to you for the order for the journal. I shall make use of it to procure those of 1779–1783, and

[1] Copied from *Collections of the N. Y. Historical Society for* 1878, page 186.

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part of 1784 which my set wants. My matter in the printing way is dropped. Aitken had formerly told me he would print it for £4 a sheet. He now asks £5 10s., which raises the price from £48 to £66; but what was a more effectual and inseparable bar was that he could not complete it under three weeks, a time I could not wait for it. Dunlap happened to be out of town, so I relinquished the plan. Perhaps I may have a few copies struck off in Paris if there be an English printer. If I do you shall assuredly have one. I shall take the liberty of adding some of your notes—those which were mendatory merely will have their effect on the body of the work. I left all the papers belonging to the Grand Committee in the hands of Mr. Blanchard. Among these were the papers relating to Vermont. My reason for not delivering them to you as I did the others, was, that the Committee was to sit that morning. There are vessels arrived here which left London as late as the 14th of April. Nothing important, however, has yet been communicated from them. The principal interesting occurrence here is a very daring insult committed on Mr. Marbois by a Frenchman, who calls himself the Chevalier De Longchamps, but he is in fact, the nephew of the Minister's steward's wife. He obliged him in his own defence to box in the street like a porter. He is demanded by the Minister to be delivered up by the Executive here to be sent to France for punishment. They are plodding over the case. Whether he be a citizen of America or not

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is not yet decided. I shall endeavor to make myself acquainted with the facts, because it will probably be the cause of something disagreeable here, and perhaps on the other side of the water. I think there is a desire in the Executive to give every satisfaction they can, but whether it is in the syllables and letters of the law that a Frenchman committing an outrage may be delivered up to his master for punishment is matter of dubity. You will hear enough of it, as it comes to Congress, of course; so I will add no more than my respectful compliments to Mrs. Thomson and assurances to yourself that I am, with much esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

P. S. I find your letter came by post, but no packet with it. The arrival of so late a vessel is now contradicted.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.[1]

BOSTON, June 19, 1784.

DEAR SIR,—Supposing that Congress would communicate to you directly the powers committed to yourself, Mr. Adams and myself, I have delayed from day to day the honor of writing to you, in hopes that every day would open to me a certainty of the time and place at which I might sail. A French packet will leave New York early in the month. By her I mean to take my passage, and may, therefore,

[1] Published in Bigelow's *Works of Franklin*, vol. VIII, page 505.

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expect, in the ordinary course of things, to have the pleasure of joining you at Paris in the middle or latter part of August, and of communicating the commissions and instructions under which we are to act. The latter are more special than those heretofore sent. I shall then also have the pleasure of giving you more particular information of the situation of our affairs than I could do by letter; in general, I may observe to you that their aspect is encouraging.

Congress, understanding that Mr. Jay was probably on his passage to America, appointed him their Secretary for Foreign Affairs. It would give me peculiar pleasure to meet with him before my departure, and to know that he will act in an office with which we shall be so immediately connected. Congress adjourned on the 3rd of June, to meet at Trenton on the first Monday of November, leaving a committee of the States at the helm during their recess.

I have the pleasure to inform you that Mrs. Bache and her family were well when I left Philadelphia, which was about three weeks ago. In hopes of joining you nearly as soon as you will receive this letter, I subscribe myself, with very sincere esteem and regard, dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant.

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TO JAMES MADISON.

BOSTON, July 1, 1784.

DEAR SIR,—After visiting the principal towns through Connecticut, Rhode Island, this State, and New Hampshire, in order to acquire what knowledge I could of their commerce and other circumstances, I am returned to this place, and shall sail the day after to-morrow in the Ceres bound for London: but my purpose is to get on shore in some boat on the coast of France and proceed directly to Paris. My servant being sent off to-day, and much on hand to prepare for my voyage, I have no time for any particular communications. Indeed, there are few I should have to make, unless I were to enter into a detail which would be lengthy, as to the country and people I have visited. The lower house of this State have passed a bill giving Congress the powers over their commerce which they had asked. It had had two readings with the Senate, and meets with no opposition. I find the conviction growing strongly that nothing can preserve our confederacy unless the band of union, their common council, be strengthened.

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